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16 JANUARY 1987

# East Europe Report

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## EAST EUROPE REPORT

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**INCREASE IN TRADE WITH CHINA DISCUSSED**

Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech 21 Oct 86 p 2

[Article: "CSSR-PRC: An Increase in Trade"]

[Text] Czechoslovak foreign trade with the People's Republic of China [PRC] is projected to reach 953 million Swiss francs this year. This represents a several fold increase in the volume of trade since the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. A record 60 percent increase in trade volume was recorded in 1984, but the trend continued last year as well when a 50 percent increase in trade volume was recorded.

The CSSR has been delivering machine tools and trucks to the PRC since the 1950s. It has also been involved in the construction of new facilities for power generation, machine building, cement production, etc.

These contacts have led to other opportunities for expanding and improving existing cooperative programs. The Long Term Trade Agreement Between the CSSR and the PRC for 1986-1990 projects that by the end of this period trade between the two countries will have reached an annual volume of 5 billion Swiss francs.

Under the terms of this agreement Czechoslovakia will export Liaz trucks to China, along with machine tools, textile machinery, rolled material and other engineering sector products. The agreement provides for the modernization of a chemical plant, the delivery of equipment for two 500 megawatt units for a steam power plant as well as equipment for a gas plant, deliveries of stripped down versions of the Tatra 815 truck, the BD 200 textile machine, etc.

The CSSR will import from China cotton, rice, soybeans, various raw materials and semifinished goods of livestock origin, tungsten concentrate, textiles, footwear and other consumer goods. The CSSR will also import naval vessels, bicycle parts, truck tires, storage batteries, and electronics industry products.

In conjunction with the Long Term Trade Agreement a protocol was signed between the governments of the CSSR and the PRC on goods exchanges and payments in 1986 that provides for an expansion of imports to include raw materials for the food, paper making and leatherworking industries, cocoa beans and powered cocoa, school and office products, toys and sporting goods.

9276/8918  
CSO: 2400/75

## PROGRESS OF R&amp;D COOPERATION WITH VIETNAM VIEWED

Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech 21 Oct 86 p 2

[Article: "Czechoslovakia--Vietnam: Progress in R&D Cooperation; Electrotechnical and Machine Building Industries Have Top Priority"]

[Text] The Bilateral Agreement on R&D Cooperation Through 1990, which was approved on 6 October 1981, provides the basis for R&D cooperation between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [VSR] for 1986-1990. These R&D programs have also been modified to reflect the resolutions of executive level economic conferences of the CEMA member countries, and have been updated as well to include tasks contained in the Comprehensive Program for R&D Progress Through the Year 2000. The results of national economic plan coordination efforts between the CSSR and the VSR for 1986-1990 provide the operational details for this cooperative activity.

The above programs provide the framework for R&D cooperation between the CSSR and the VSR. More specifically, these programs involve sending Czechoslovak experts to the VSR, training Vietnamese personnel in the CSSR, sharing documentation related to R&D programs, the shipment of materials related to the implementation of these programs, and other activities as specified in resolutions of the Czechoslovak-Vietnamese committee for economic and R&D cooperation, or in protocols of its subcommittee for R&D cooperation. In addition, specific program objectives will be specified on an annual basis.

Over the next 5 years R&D cooperation will focus mainly on the electrotechnical industry, engineering, light industry, natural resources, agriculture, health care, metallurgy, and other areas. Besides the actual results of R&D efforts, a further objective of these programs is to accelerate the application of R&D progress to production. This will in turn speed up trade between our countries and facilitate the establishment of production cooperation, among other things.

The objectives for the electrotechnical industry in particular include the production of active electronic devices that will expand product lines and increase the volume of cooperation, the production of passive and structural electronic elements, ongoing research on the useability of Vietnamese raw materials and materials for the electro-technical industry (along with the import potential for Czechoslovakia of these materials).

In machine building, R&D cooperation will be concerned with modernizing the capital stock of machinery in Vietnam. Czechoslovakia is playing a major role in the development of hydroelectric power generation, and in setting up production facilities for producing internal combustion engines for agriculture, transportation and other fields. Our countries are also cooperating in the production of bicycle parts, measuring instruments, tools, and other products related to machine building.

In light industry, Czechoslovakia will provide assistance in setting up production facilities for footwear and other leather products. This will facilitate the development of trade between our countries. We will also provide assistance in resolving problems in the production of lightweight synthetic fabrics and similar products. In the area of natural resources, Czechoslovakia will assist in geological prospecting, technical research and the joint exploitation of rare earth deposits in the VSR, and in the location and evaluation of reserves of subsurface and mineral waters, including thermal waters. It will cooperate in the mining and processing of gems, in the geological and economic evaluation of mineral deposits, and in other areas, including the protection of the environment and natural resources.

In agriculture, R&D efforts will be directed at improving the cultivation of coffee bushes and rubber trees in the VSR, and on feasibility studies for the cultivation of legumes, textile plants, oil plants, spices, etc. Cooperation in the cultivation and primary processing of tropical fruits, vegetables, and starchy root crops, in the application of tissue cultures to selected plants, in the application of biotechnologies in the agricultural and food processing sectors of the VSR is also of considerable importance. Czechoslovakia will provide technical assistance in the cultivation of hops, in livestock production (including veterinary care), and in the fish farming.

Cooperation in health care is of particular importance given conditions in the VSR. The next 5 years will see a continuation of cooperation in the areas of tropical and other infectious diseases, in the pharmaceutical industry, in the production of plant oils related to tests conducted in the VSR on equipment provided by the CSSR, etc. Czechoslovak technical assistance will also include the training of Vietnamese experts in various fields and the delivery of health care equipment.

In other areas of R&D cooperation, Czechoslovakia is providing assistance in the area of nonferrous metals, the management of R&D, scientific and technical information, discoveries and inventions, communications, geodesy and cartography, and other fields.

The agencies involved in R&D cooperation with the VSR include the State Commission for R&D and Investment Development, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Federal Ministry of the Electrotechnical Industry, the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering, the Federal Ministry of General Engineering, the Federal Ministry of Communications, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the CSR and SSR ministries of Industry, the CSR and SSR ministries of health care, the Czech and Slovak Geodesy and Cartography Office, and the Czech and Slovak Geology Office. If necessitated by future program modifications, other sectors will also become involved in program implementation.

**AUTOMATION, COMPUTER INTRODUCTION PROBLEMS VIEWED**

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Iveta Frivaldska: "Automated Equipment Requires a Special Touch--and Man Even More So"]

[Text] An overview of Integrated Production Unit 500 at TOS Hostivar. The present TOS Hostivar represents only the tip of the iceberg. Automated equipment requires a special touch--and man even more so.

It is necessary to identify with the new technology. A computer does not take kindly to sloppiness and inaccuracy. A process similar to the collectivization of the economy. Everyone must understand the philosophy of innovation.

The base plant of the TOS Hostivar enterprise is justifiably regarded as a showcase of our machine industry. Several integrated production units (IVUs) are in operation here. So is automated intercenter transportation via inductionally controlled carts, and the direct control of the production centers is automated....No, we will not revert to the period when incredible efforts went into creating the present shape of the plant, as by now all the problems and contentious situations could not even be accurately described, and after all, time has dulled their acuteness.

However, let us at least briefly recapitulate: Ten years ago, TOS became one of lead respondents to Prague's call to join science and production. The employees assumed an associated socialist obligation to build a model plant. They themselves set down to work on the project. However, the results were not satisfactory because the model plant concept had to mean something more than just having new technology in the plant--which was a conventional one! Since the Research Institute for Machine Technology and Economics was then working on the task of the State Plan for Scientific and Technical Development entitled MODEL INTEGRATED PRODUCTION, CONTROL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM OF A MACHINE ENTERPRISE and was seeking ways to implement it, and TOS simultaneously wanted to fulfill its obligation at a higher level, the two joined forces.

Both had the same goal--to find the best way of shifting from mechanized to automated production while obtaining general knowledge that could be broadly used in the largest possible number of machine industry plants in the CSSR. A new aspect in this approach was the accentuated harmony between factors in the development of science and technology and factors in the personal development of the socialist individual.

It is generally accepted that the significance of the technical and economic system in an industrial enterprise creates the fundamental conditions for fulfilling its production function. But without human efforts there would be no change; only man has given the enterprise its dynamics, and only his activity gives it meaning. It is known that if the social system does not function adequately, it can complicate or jeopardize even a technically well-prepared action. For example, automation spares people demanding, physically exacting and routine work. On the other hand, it presents them with a whole range of new demands which can cause serious problems: a decrease in the number of workers and their concentration into larger production units; retraining and broadening of knowledge; changes in skill qualifications; changes in thinking; and greater emphasis on group work. Therefore, the employee must not only become familiar with and operate the new technology, but must also understand that digitally-controlled machines do not work faster than conventional machines, but they work more consistently. Therefore such machines need much more effective production control in order to utilize all their functions.

It is said that computers are extraordinary helpers but have one very bad characteristic for man. They do not know how to solve a problem in just any way that works because they know only two positions: Yes and No.

This hardheadedness has created certain problems at TOS. Flaws were discovered which previously had bothered no one. Much tedious but unavoidable work had to be done. This places great demands on the way people think. In the case of the IVU 200, for example, there are several hundred items of production data and each must be accurate! No mistake or inaccuracy can ever be hidden. I can vouch for this on the basis of something that happened on my visit at the TOS plant when my guide, Engineer Petr Kryspin, director of the Plant Control Center, suddenly concentrated intensely and then, visit or no visit, pointed out to the head of the control center that there was one extra box on one of the belts. When I asked whether such detail is even worth mentioning, I got a comprehensive answer to the effect that a computer is not based on sloppiness and disorder!

Just as the feelings and positions of people affected by the automation change are in many ways identical, so there is basically no difference between the manufacturers of hydraulic devices or small parts for electrode devices. General conclusions can be drawn from the experiences at the TOS.

All employees must learn to respect accuracy. Automation disrupted the "neighborly" relations that previously prevailed in the operation of a factory: "Today I will forgive you. Tomorrow you will forgive me." Postponement is out of the question. Or "Somehow, we'll fix that later on...." Everything must be done at the right time and in the right place.

Each employee must be constantly on his feet and must know when and how to intervene. This is a question of knowledge and practice. At the TOS it is compared to an automatic pilot: a pilot at the controls of an airplane climbs to a certain altitude so that he can turn on the auto-pilot and get a cup of coffee or read a book. However, should any kind of unexpected situation occur, he must take the controls himself because the automatic pilot is programmed for certain conditions. The same holds true for the integrated production cycle, which is further complicated by the fact that the more intelligent the control system is, the more vulnerable it is.

The equipment is expensive, and the operators chosen for it must have a responsible attitude toward socialist property. I noted how Frantisek Savrda, an operator in a machine tool center (who previously worked on a classic horizontal machine tool), first with a soft cloth and then with his hand, wiped the dust from the top before he put a part into the machine tool. Others were doing the same because even microscopic particles could endanger the work piece's accuracy and disturb the machine's mechanism.

The attitude of individuals must be influenced so that they accept automation as something that is for their own good and not as an unavoidable evil. They must find out for themselves that it is beneficial to them and they will quickly understand what saves them work. I met one operator of an NC machine tool, Frantisek Matys. He is middle-aged, confident in speech as well as manner, like anyone who knows his own worth. He had previously worked at a conventional machine tool, but now no one could get him away from the digitally-controlled machine. But even he had certain reservations at the beginning; he was sent to all kinds of training, but it wasn't until he himself experienced the operation of this machine that he began to like it. There is thus a difference between training (technical training, which is easily obtainable) and a real identification with change.

We have already noted that the collective element of work is being emphasized. Engineer Kryspin remembers when common production tools were being introduced and were being delivered at individual work centers automatically prepackaged in boxes prepared for certain technological tasks, together with a programmed tape for the reading machine. It had always been a source of pride for machine tool operators that they had their own tools. They were extremely careful with them. Suddenly they were supposed to open a box and turn their tools over to a common bank. They were very hesitant to do so. There were situations virtually comparable to the collectivization of the economy. They did not believe that someone else could take care of THEIR tools as well as they had

themselves. We told them: "Choose one of yourselves, the most reliable one among you, so that he will have the trust of the entire group." Today it doesn't even occur to anyone to think about keeping their own tools to themselves. But it was a long, drawn-out change.

So far, the automation itself is considered to be an asset mostly to the national economy and possibly to the management of an enterprise. But experiences from TOS show its great significance for employees: relations within groups are improved, the operators at the NC machine tools tend to be more satisfied, they have more authority, and they are linked in a broad work team. There is no permanent tension or any danger of more serious conflicts.

The integrated production units, which so far represent the highest type of automated production in the CSSR, are generally relatively closed units which work in two or three shifts. Unlike conventional production, there are possibilities of putting finishing touches on the work environment, painting different areas different colors, and maintaining cleanliness. The TOS has competitions for cleanest work unit; true, the employees sometimes complain that in the old days each person cleaned only one small machine. Now they have to clean huge equipment and must pay much more attention to it. But the fact that they don't mean this seriously is shown by a look into the production halls where we see harmony and order. There is one 80-year-old employee who doesn't want to stay home. The plant has a special place in her heart, so she goes there as a good spirit with a broom and sweeps up metal shavings.

It is not possible for people who work with demanding technology not to have suitable social areas. Rest areas, facilities for warming precooked foods for the evening and night shifts, hygienic equipment, and medical care, are common things at the TOS. However, what I did not see in the automated work centers were chairs for the workers, probably because of the opinion that a sitting worker is not working. Even though we have accepted a number of technological advantages in everyday life and consider it self-evident, for example, that streetcars drivers sit (even though it hasn't been that long ago that they were still standing in the old type), this request seems to raise eyebrows. However, creating a suitable working environment is nothing but finishing the automation process.

Today TOS Hostivář provides a real basis for thinking about the entire concept of the long-term development of machine industry production, but it was the people that give it its soul. Researchers, engineers and plant technicians, managers, and all employees had to overcome the initial difficulties, deal with the quality of the supplies (which in the CSSR is still inadequate for automated production systems), go through long and excruciating production debates, move work centers from place to place as needed depending on the automation, and clarify the philosophy of reconstruction. Precisely because they were successful in this process, involved everyone in all the changes and, therefore, brought them into the center of the action, this system of social control has become a strong part of the entire process of plant control.

What we see at TOS Hostivar is only the tip of the iceberg. With all its positives and negatives, as in the case of all innovations, it is represented by the MODEL INTEGRATED PRODUCTION, CONTROL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM. However, this is not the end of an era. There are plans for other measures, more improvement.

However, as has been the case until now, in each subsequent process the main word will be given to well-trained cadres. Marie Hlavackova, the deputy for cadre and personnel affairs, is of the opinion that these cadres must be stable: "We do not want people to come to us because of certain advantages, but because they will have a guarantee of conditions for the development of their individual worth and will have a sense of a professional future. It has already been shown that this is more important for stabilization purposes than are salary levels."

12993/12223  
CSO: 2400/72

## FRG, GDR TRADE ASSOCIATIONS DISCUSS POLLUTION, REDUCED TRADE

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 3 Nov 86 p 13

[Article datelined CMK Berlin 1/2 November 1986: "Hamburg Demands End of Elbe Pollution"]

[Text] The annual economic talks between the trade associations of the FRG and the GDR actually are a technical dialogue between insiders, even if it transcends branches. Simultaneously, however, there is the chance to bring up pressing problems, not only in the trade field, with the hope of passing them to the proper address.

Hamburg's mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi seized the opportunity and explained to the general directors of 32 GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines that the pollution of the Elbe cannot continue. Measurements taken in Schnackenburg, at the border crossing, have shown that 95 percent of the heavy metal load was washed in from the CSSR and the GDR. An inner-German solution of this problem is urgently needed, so urgently, in fact, from Hamburg's vantage point that a political problem like the border settlement in the Elbe should possibly defer to it.

This utterance gains in weight if one recalls that Dohnanyi made a lot of this topic already when he visited Prague in summer yet had to let himself be told by the CSSR that all the efforts were in vain as long as the GDR, the main polluter of the Elbe, did not join the game. Of that, however, there are unfortunately no indications. Even a Hamburg mayor, no matter how pressing his concern, cannot bypass politically established positions--the Elbe border. All he can do is appeal to pragmatism, and that is what he has done. In front of a forum with its reciprocal trade complications that have sometimes simply to be resolved pragmatically.

What with all the up and down, trade has thus far been stabilizing the inner-German relationship, and that is to remain that way, even if the difficulties resulting from the oil price crisis at the time and from the trend of the dollar exchange rate are likely to interrupt the growth curve emphatically in fact. For 1986 one will be lucky to keep the decline in values still below 10 percent. It does not much good to point out the structural weaknesses in the inner-German trade that the FRG has deplored for years. The unhealthy turn to an above-proportionate raw materials and base materials business has had its price. Now one has to compensate for gaps, as Prof Dr Erich Freund, chairman of the GDR/FRG Trade Association, put it, presenting a number of ideas along with it.

**INNER-GERMAN TRADE IN '86 SHOWS 20 PERCENT DECLINE OVER '85**

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 24 Nov 86 p 10

[Article by CMK: "Clear Decline in Business with East Berlin--Reduction of Raw Materials in Inner-German Trade Only Statistical--Other Structural Defects"]

[Text] For the first time since 1967 inner-German trade will show no growth rates. Compared with 1985, this year suggests a minus of 20 percent. For the commodity flow this means a decline of 14.6 to an estimated 13 billion VE [Exchange unit = DM].

One should not make too much of this, said State Secretary Dieter von Wuerzen (FRG Ministry for Economics) when addressing the SPD's Economic Policy Forum in Berlin. Reciprocal trade of investment and consumer goods had increased, but the share of basic materials, which had greatly exceeded 50 percent on both sides, was retrogressive. This was all due to the prices. At unchanged volumes, FRG imports in mineral oil products show a drop of 570 million VE while its exports in crude oil and mining products indicate a minus of 385 million VE.

Statistically speaking, the amount of raw materials has been reduced, to be sure, while nothing has yet changed in the structural defects in inner-German trade. Dieter von Wuerzen also spoke of a creeping deterioration of the GDR's competitiveness with the directly competing threshold countries in the consumer goods sector, especially in textiles. The GDR was not able to participate in the FRG's increasing demands.

**Lack of Flexibility for Fast Adaptation**

There simply is no flexibility in adapting to changing market requirements. In setting up a 10-year index (1975-1985), the trade with the GDR would show a ratio of 100:229, that with the developing countries, one of 100:270.

In terms of mark and pfennig that would mean 1.5 billion VE of missed chances in inner-German trade. This GDR weakness in deliveries also naturally affected the FRG's delivery possibilities. At the same time, however, the competitive advantages of inner-German trade (the reference was to tax preferences and to the exemption from customs and skimming of dues) provided stability.

Without this special status the trade volume would likely be 20 to 25 percent smaller, von Wuerzen said. Even so, the GDR has to hustle to halt the trend of economic erosion. For that, forms for improved economic cooperation might offer themselves: Cooperation, licensed production--following the Volkswagen and Salamander examples.

#### **Economic Dialogue Marked by Uncertainty**

All in all, East-West trade has it tough today. The oil price decline and uncertainties about how to deal with the new 5-year plan also affect the economic dialogue. That holds true in particular of the Soviet Union, the FRG's largest eastern trade partner. While trade was already regressive by 4 percent in 1985, it dropped by another 18 percent in the first 8 months of 1986. FRG imports dropped by almost one fourth, the oil price drop amounting to 20 percent of it. FRG exports declined by 8 percent, even 11 percent in machine exports. It was hard to see, said the State Secretary, how the Soviet Union intended to cope with the field of tension between a curbed western trade and the needed industrial modernization, which depends on imports. There too they are looking busily for new handles, as also for the chances of joint venture. Von Wuerzen cautioned against too high hopes, even though this topic was being treated euphorically in the East Bloc. Joint Ventures might help over the long haul in intensifying trade, but they could not resolve the problems of a one-sided commodity structure, as little as could a possibly rebouding oil price which, moreover, would bring along the danger of concentrating again on the simpler trade in raw materials.

5885  
CSO: 2300/104

**PLAN COMMISSION SEES 21 PERCENT INDUSTRIAL GROWTH FOR 1986-90**

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 1 Dec 86 p 11

[Article datelined HDS Berlin 29/30 November 1986: "More Than Half of the New Production to Show International Top Standards"]

[Text] The Planning Commission has toned down its expectations of industrial development in the GDR. Electrical engineering and electronics remain on top.

The growth of industrial output--the plan data for 1971/75 and 1976/80 were 34 percent each, those of 1981/85, still 28 percent--for 1986/90 is given as still 21 percent. That is somewhat below the figure of the last 5-year plan (22.8 percent).

The preeminence still goes to electrical engineering/electronics. There, output has to be increased by 51 percent (last 5-year plan, 59 percent). The VEB Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena, and Microelectronics, Erfurt, are being turned into high-tech centers. Also, more and more combines of the processing industry are to set up their own microelectronic production capacities.

As microelectronics still is in its infancy, the output of unipolar circuits is to be expanded by 586 percent till 1990, that of bipolar ones, by 155 percent. For the entire testing and control technology, an 82-percent boost is anticipated (48 percent in the old 5-year plan).

The 5-year plan act calls for building 170,000 office and personal computers and 1,950 small-size and 670 large data processing installations. In 1990, as many as 90,000 CAD/CAM terminals must be in operation. Screen texts and long-distance copying must be brought in step by step.

A large, above average, role furthermore goes to machine building. It has to boost its output by 32 percent (41 percent in the last 5-year plan). By 1990 nearly half of its output must come in the form of "complex machine systems."

The growth rates are led by digital controls (+ 76 percent). Then come cold forming and metal-cutting machine tools (52 and 47 percent respectively), machines for the foodstuffs industry (46 percent), and packaging machinery (43 percent).

The machine tool projects primarily serve to meet export obligations to the Soviet Union, with which the commodity list for 1987 was signed last Friday [28 November 1986]. Moscow also gets more and better consumer goods. Their planned export boost lies 43 percent higher than in the old 5-year plan. In 1990, consumer goods production is supposed to surpass the 1985 level by 31 percent.

Once again Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, committed those enterprises that primarily make means of production to manufacture more and better consumer goods. That he again--along with the planning act--had to demand the supplying, proper as to needs, of the "thousand small items" and spare parts, is nothing to brag about.

Now there also are target figures for assortment upgrading--a first in a 5-year plan act. They are demanding a degree of upgrading of 30 percent, and up to 40 percent for consumer goods. More than half of the new production must be on the "international top level."

Combines are to boost their in-house rationalization means production by nearly 14 percent on the annual average and develop into "centers of the most modern technology." By 1990, one fourth of the industrial investment equipment is to be made by the do-it-yourself method.

The demand for increased labor productivity runs like a red thread through the new compilation of figures. Its rate of development is to be "accelerated further." In the industrial ministries sector labor productivity has to be raised--like net production--by 50 percent (old 5-year plan, 29 percent).

Specific consumption of economically significant raw materials and semi-fabricates is to be trimmed by 4 percent on the annual average. If that succeeds and the demands of the previous three 5-year plans are met, the GDR in 1990 would get along with circa half of the consumption in 1970 per unit of output.

Energy requirements alone have to be curbed so that savings would conform to a volume of 80 million tons of raw lignite (70 tons in the previous 5-year plan). Simultaneously there is the plan to boost lignite mining by a sound 7 percent to 335 million tons per year.

To accomplish the demanded "high achievements in a hastened increase of labor productivity and efficiency," they intend to convert further labor income to the new form of "performance oriented" basic wages and salaries.

5885  
CSO: 2300/104

## STATISTICS PROVIDED ON FISHING, PASSENGER SHIP CONSTRUCTION

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 123, 23 Oct 86 p 6

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Facts and Figures": "Freighters, Fishing Ships, and Passenger Ships From GDR Shipyards"]

[Text] Ships and maritime equipment from our republic are proving themselves under the flags of more than 50 countries. The manufacturing program of the Rostock VEB Shipbuilding Combine includes, for example, seagoing and inland freighters outfitted for multipurpose use, general cargo, and full containers; fishing ships for catching and processing fish; inland passenger ships; rail freight ferries; and diverse ship equipment.

In an international comparison based on total tonnage prepared by the Lloyd's Register of London, the GDR shipbuilding industry took first place in fishing ship construction in 1985 and third place in the construction of general cargo freighters. This is primarily a result of years of successful cooperation with our fellow socialist countries, especially the USSR, and the concentration on manufacturing lines.

More than 5,000 seagoing and inland ships, in some 180 models, have been built so far in GDR shipyards. The production program currently comprises 20 types of ships, as well as ship equipment and rationalization methods typical of shipbuilding.

The GDR shipbuilding industry's chief trading partner is the USSR. Last year alone, the Soviet Union received more than 62 ships from our shipyards. In addition, GDR shipbuilders are connected with Soviet partners in many ways. For example, all the various types of fishing ships built thus far have been developed and tested in close cooperation with Soviet fishers and specialists.

Seagoing and inland cargo ships have been coming from the shipyards of our republic for more than three decades, currently in 55 variants of the basic models. The transport of general, scrap, heavy and long cargo, of containers, bulk goods, vehicles and other rolling stock is effectively carried out by water. The Warnemuende VEB Warnow Shipyard and the Rostock "Neptune" shipyard build freighters for LO/RO [Load-On/Roll-Off] and RO/RO [Roll-On/Roll-Off] transshipment.

The "Model 161" double-screw trailer ship was developed for transporting automobiles, trucks, containers, and general cargo. It can be used on closed or open waters at a distance of 200 nautical miles from port as well as on inland waterways. As a seagoing/inland vessel with RO/RO capability, it represents a worldwide innovation.

A new generation of freighters with high tonnage and a large container-carrying capacity are embodied in the "UCC 14" universal container carrier and "Passat" multipurpose container ship models.

During the past 5-year-plan period from 1981 to 1985, the shipyards completely renovated their manufacturing program. In the process, the construction of new types of ships was combined with the introduction of modern technologies. The partnership with the scientific institutions of the Maritime Industry Scientific Production Cooperative is proving its worth. Included here, along with the Shipbuilding Combine, are the Wilhelm-Pieck University in Rostock, the Warnemuende and Wismar Engineering Institutes, the Maritime Traffic and Harbor Trade Combine, the Rostock Fishing Combine, the GDR Shipping Board, and the GDR Ship Inspection and Classification Agency.

The prototype of a new generation of container ships is currently being assembled on the Warnow Shipyard's slipway. The "Saturn" series is a joint project of the partners of the Maritime Industry Cooperative. The modern freighter has places for more than 1,000 containers, without being larger than its predecessors. At the same time, its fuel economy has been significantly improved with, among other things, the conversion of the main engine's exhaust heat into electrical energy.

The new "Mondsund" factory trawler has been on its maiden voyage in the Pacific for around 3 months. The many years of experience in building ships for catching and processing fish of the collectives of the Stralsund VEB Peoples Shipyard were also used in this new development. Ships of the "Atlantic" series have proven their worth--as ships for catching and freezing and as ships for catching and processing--in fishing on the high seas since 1966.

Inland passenger ships for day tours or boat trips, especially on Soviet waterways, are made at the two shipyards of the VEB Shipbuilding Combine. The smaller models for 164 or 124 passengers come from the Berlin VEB Yacht Shipyard, and the large passenger ships for 332 passengers from the Boizenburg/Rosslau VEB Elbe Shipyards. A total of four ships for day tourism were put into service in our republic this year. The motorboat "Dr Ernst Alban," for example, was launched from the banks of the Dahme in Berlin at the end of September. This passenger ship is destined for the waters around the city of Plau in the Schwerin District, and is one of a series of 20 ships that will be built by the end of 1988.

Soviet inland shipping companies have bought 33 inland passenger ships built at the Boizenburg/Rosslau Elbe Shipyards. In close cooperation with partners from the USSR, continuing development of the Model 301 inland passenger ship led to the new Model 302, equipped to carry 332 passengers and a crew of 89 in high comfort.

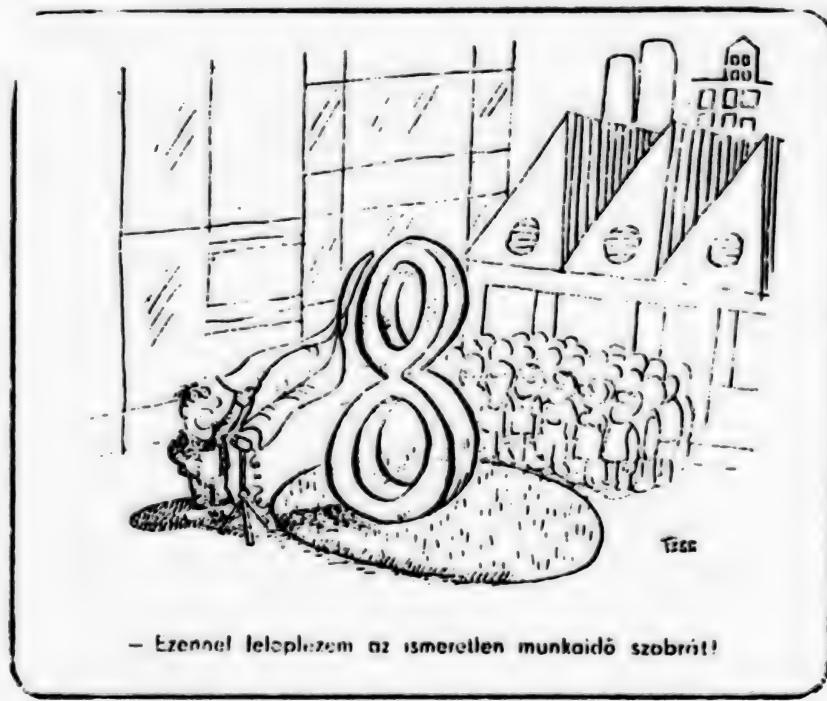
The most recent example of the GDR shipbuilders' productivity in the field of ferryboat production is the "Mukran" railroad ferry for the ferry traffic between Mukran and Klaipeda. The VEB Mathias-Thesen Shipyard has thus made its contribution to economical transportation between the GDR and the USSR, for the "bridge over the sea." By 1990, a total of six ferryboats will be travelling this route: "Klaipeda," "Vilnius," and "Kaunas" under the flag of the Lithuanian Maritime Shipping Company, and "Mukran," "Wismar," and "Greifswald" under the sign of our republic's German Maritime Shipping Company line.

12507/12859  
CSO: 2300/76

CARTOON COMMENTARY ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Budapest LUDAS MATYI in Hungarian 26 Nov 86 p 4

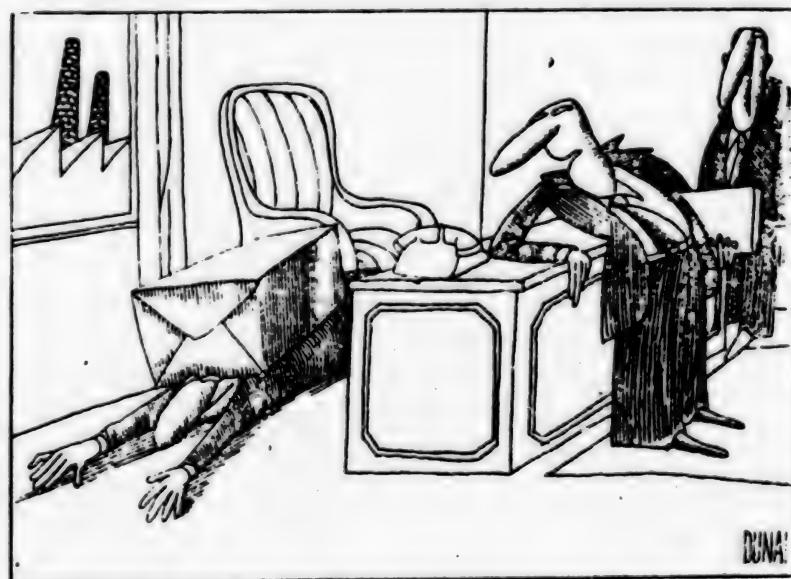
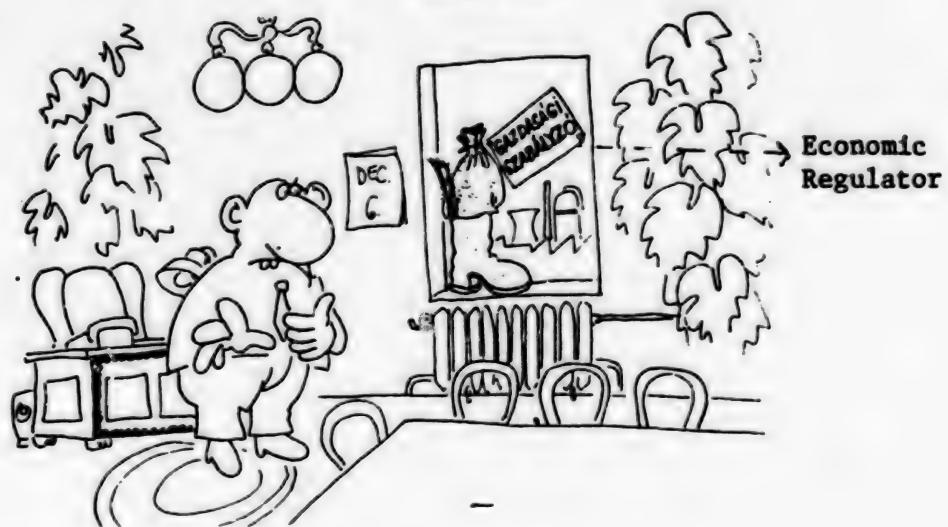
[Cartoons]



With this I unveil the statue of the unknown working day.

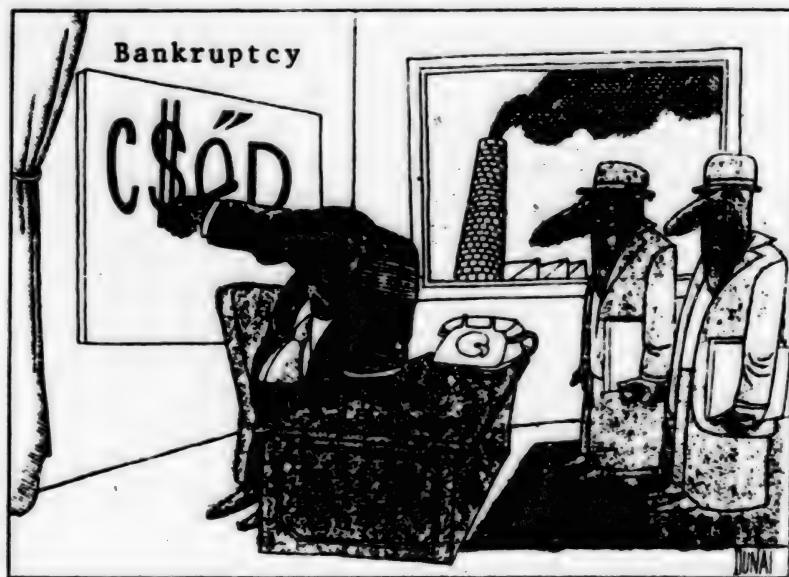
[Reference is to the fact that most Hungarians work far more than 8 hours a day]

Surprise!

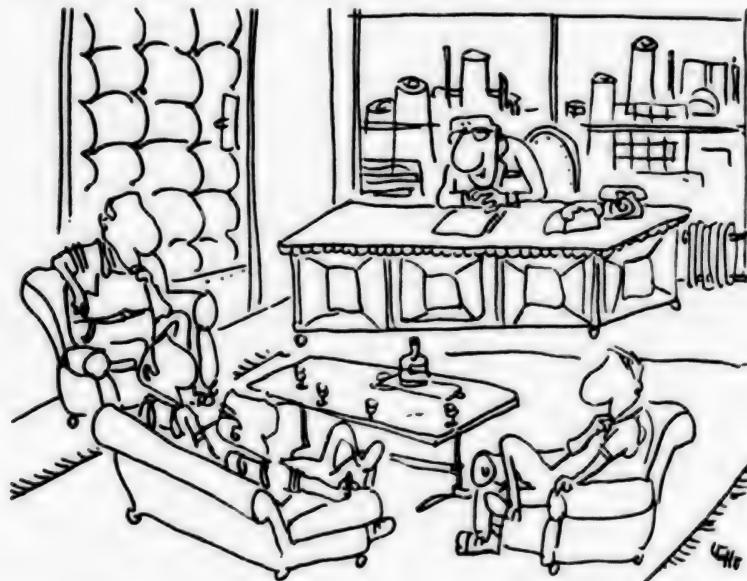


I see the boss got another new package plan.

Solution



On Returning Home After Working Abroad



--And comrades, how many Marks can you lend  
for development?

/9365  
CSO: 2500/103

## PARTY DAILY CRITICIZES OFFICIAL U.S. EXHIBITION

AU151522 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 86 p 5

[Commentary by Peter Kovac: "Did They Underestimate Us, Or Do They Have Nothing To Offer?"]

[Excerpts] In many a Western publication about contemporary fine art we can read that after World War II New York took over the initiative of Paris in the capitalist world and the United States the leading role of France. The waves of Americanization sweeping across Western Europe and the numerous U.S. collections in West European galleries only confirm this claim. Looked at from this point of view, it is certainly interesting to familiarize oneself with contemporary U.S. works of art, an opportunity that is offered by the exhibition "American Woodcuts" held currently in the Prague City Library. The information provided in the catalogue that this is a "representative cultural event of the United States of America" is also enticing. Nonetheless, for a demanding gallery goer the exhibition will undoubtedly be a disappointment. Above all, it is not a large exposition and more than a half of the works on display are more or less fillers, which is confirmed, above all, by the number of Sol LeWitt's and Jennifer Bartlett's works.

Even the reliance on personalities that are not omitted in any survey of postwar American art does not save the exhibition's reputation. The graphics of Frank Stella attracts interest, more or less, only as a decorative piece of design; Tom Wesselmann does not make up for the lack of human emotions even by the abundance of sex; and Jim Dine, a "radical of pop art," offers a banal little heart amid black smudges.

Among the expressly weak works are those of Richard Diebenkorn and John Buck. Most of the abstract works are stereotypical, poor in graphical skills, and devoid of ideas and inventiveness (the exhibition of the Austrian painter Hundertwasser next-door is the antithesis to this; the effect of his works lies in their playfulness and immediacy and, by their decorativeness, they can enliven any interior).

Among those who "save" the exhibition are Jay Bolotin (with his narrative stories about people that are full of hyperbole, humor, a certain naivete, and, above all, a complete human experience of reality), the lyrical works of Nefertiti, and two self-portraits by Roy Ragle. It is certainly a positive

feature attributable to the Prague National Gallery that it replenished the display from its own collections with graphics by representatives of pop art.

But let us return to the American exhibition proper. The question flashes across a person's mind whether the Americans really have nothing to offer, or whether they underestimated the values of Czechoslovak art. The fact is that a juxtaposition of the exhibition and of Czechoslovak graphic artists would turn out clearly in our favor. It would be interesting, for example, to see the works of Jiri Altmann or Igor Rumansky displayed in the adjacent rooms.

/9599

CSO: 2400/102

## CHNOUPEK OPENS TALKS WITH ROMANIA'S TOTU

AU021206 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 86 pp 1, 7

[CTK report: "CSSR's, Romania's Foreign Ministers Open Talks; Bilateral Interest in Intensifying Cooperation"]

[Text] Bucharest (CTK correspondent)--This Thursday [27 November] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs of SR of Romania, opened talks in Bucharest.

In a cordial comradely talk the two ministers briefed each other on the course of socialist construction in their countries and on the fulfillment of conclusion adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 13th RCP Congress; they assessed the current level of relations between the two countries, and exchanged views on the most important issues of international development.

They concurrently stressed that the basis of cooperation lies in the close collaboration of communist parties and in the development of personal contacts among top party and state representatives. They stated that the relations between their two countries and people are traditionally friendly relations, and that they are developing successfully in all spheres. A broad scope for this is established by the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the SR of Romania. The meeting between Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the SR of Romania, held in December 1985 in Bucharest, was of primary significance for the expansion of mutual cooperation. The conclusions of that meeting represent a valuable contribution to the further dynamic development of relations in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, as well as in other spheres. At the same time the conclusions affirmed the bilateral interest in further intensifying the existing mutually advantageous cooperation along all lines.

The two ministers positively appraised the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the two countries and stressed the need to continue the orientation toward higher forms of this cooperation, particularly such forms as specialization and cooperation in production. They stated that the long-term 1986-90 agreement envisages an increase of the mutual goods exchange by almost 40 percent, compared with the reality in the preceding 5-year period.

In discussing international issues, the two ministers expressed alarm over the complicated situation in the world, which is the consequence of the policy of imperialism. In this connection they expressed the firm will of their countries' leaderships to actively contribute toward further consolidating the unity and cohesion of fraternal socialist countries and toward developing further mutual cooperation.

The ministers devoted great attention to the meeting of top USSR and U.S. representatives in Reykjavik, which represents a qualitative break in negotiations on nuclear disarmament. They highly appraised the significance of proposals submitted by the Soviet Union. Their realization would make it possible to achieve a positive turn in international development within a short time and to speed up the transition to a world without nuclear arms.

The ministers briefed each other on the measures and concrete steps undertaken by their countries in paving the way for the common Warsaw Pact proposals. They emphasized the topical and significant nature of a reduction of the strength of armed forces and conventional equipment, while correspondingly cutting down the states' military expenditures, as proposed by the appeal adopted by the session Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee.

They also dealt with the issue of nuclear-free zones, which they regard as an important contribution to nuclear disarmament. B. Chnoupek provided information on the latest Czechoslovak steps in the interests of creating a zone free of nuclear arms in central Europe. The ministers also exchanged knowledge on the implementation of the CSSR's and GDR's proposal on creating a zone free of chemical arms in central Europe, and of similar initiatives of the SR of Romania and the Bulgarian People's Republic for the Balkans region.

B. Chnoupek conveyed to I. Totu an invitation to pay an official friendly visit to the CSSR, which was accepted with thanks.

On the same day Ioan Totu gave a dinner in B. Chnoupek's honor.

/9599  
CSO: 2400/102

## CHNOUPEK ANSWERS READERS' QUESTIONS, PART I

AU260601 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 86 p 6

[ "About Topical Issues of the International Situation; Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Answers RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA Readers' Questions"--passages between slantlines published in boldface; first two paragraphs and last paragraph are supplied by newspaper]

[Text] A week ago in the pages of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA we called upon readers to take part in a press conference "at a distance" on topical issues of the international situation with Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. By the close of business on Wednesday 12 November the two editorial offices had received a total of 156 questions by mail, telephone, and teletype from all regions of the republic. Further questions were still arriving on Thursday. Understandably, in view of such a considerable number of questions, it is technically impossible for the editorial offices to publish answers to all questions. Moreover, many questions were identical or very similar: a number of questions transcended the framework of this unusual press conference. After a consultation with Minister B. Chnoupek, we chose at least a part of the most important questions for this issue of RUDE PRAVO.

The RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA editorial offices thank all who have contributed with their questions to the success of this action. The editorial offices of the two dailies are also planning to have press conferences "at a distance" in the future.

[Question] /In your opinion, what new element has Reykjavik brought from the viewpoint of the theory of international relations?

[Signed] Doctor Josef Grousl,/ Candidate of Sciences, Prague 5

[Chnoupek] Immediate and definite analyses of specific phenomena and events cannot be objective and must be constantly corrected in accordance with social developments in the world and our knowledge about them. Therefore, it will be precisely history itself which will determine what new elements the talks in Iceland have yielded for the science of international relations.

However, there is no doubt that the Soviet approach toward the solution of the fundamental issues of the survival of human civilization and nuclear disarmament constitutes new political thinking and proceeds from it. It is

the expression of profound political wisdom and socialist humanism. It leans on great political courage and willingness for far-reaching mutual compromises. It proceeds from the experience that disarmament negotiations, which often assess rather varied technical details, are usually long and lag behind the spiral of the arms buildup. And since time mercilessly rushes by and the nuclear threat is increasing, the Soviet Union has been pushing this innovative approach. This priority question of the present requires a rapid, global, and bold solution.

The contribution of the summit meeting of the two representatives lies in the fact that questions of technical details have been put into second place, and fundamental political problems have been put forward. This has opened up the possibility of the rapid fundamental solution of an entire complex of questions. A new platform has been created for further disarmament negotiations.

[Question] /Reagan has refused to halt the "Star Wars" program, and has thus prevented the signing of far-reaching historical agreements. What would the possible realization of these bring the interested states from an economic point of view?

[Signed] Milan Novak, / Electrotechnician, Poldi SONP Kladno

[Chnoupek] There is no doubt that the realization of concrete disarmament agreements would not only have a far-reaching positive political impact, but also a positive social and economic impact. Today the world spends some \$800-850 billion annually on armament. Moreover, should the space arms race begin, further industrial and scientific-technical capacities of a number of states would be dragged into it, and further extensive financial resources would be fruitlessly expended. Already now it is clear that the cost of the "Star Wars" program in the first stage alone will exceed the extent of the current indebtedness of all developing countries.

These huge and unnecessary armament investments constitute a heavy burden on the global economy and, in particular, on the developing countries, while mankind struggles with problems such as hunger, poverty, illiteracy, and general economic backwardness in a number of countries. At the same time, for example, it would be possible to build five large hospitals for the cost of a single American MX intercontinental missile, and ensure the education of 16 million children for 1 year for the price of one nuclear submarine of the Trident class.

We see the way out of the situation by achieving real [realny] disarmament. All the common disarmament initiatives of the socialist countries are oriented toward this end. Therefore, on 5 March this year we turned to the NATO member-states with an appeal to begin direct negotiations on not increasing and on reducing military expenditure, with the aim of achieving a practical agreement.

[Question] /To what an extent has the meeting in Reykjavik influenced the stances and the thinking of West European politicians on the issue of reducing

nuclear hardware in central Europe? What progress has been made in the talks between the SED and the SPD on creating a nuclear-free zone along the borders dividing the two military groupings?

[Signed] Engineer Vaclav Vitovec,/ trade sector worker of the general directorate Skoda Plzen

[Chnoupek] The influence of the Soviet-American meeting is reflected in the stances of the Western European politicians, especially as regards identifying themselves with its significant conclusion that nuclear disarmament and disarmament in general are a realistic possibility. The majority of them have welcomed Reykjavik. However, at the same time representatives of some Western European political circles have been expressing concern over some sort of "risks" for the "security" of Western Europe, arising from the elimination of the U.S. nuclear "umbrella." And this is coming all of a sudden, at variance with earlier demands and appeals they addressed to the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries for steps and measures leading to a nuclear-free Europe. All at once there have appeared various "serious substantiations" for unconditionally retaining the American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, for further "effectuating" the status of the nuclear powers of Great Britain and France. As if the far-reaching USSR compromise proposals did not exist and Reykjavik had not taken place! And in this situation the voices which call for NATO's further "military augmentation" ["dozbrojeni"] with nuclear devices with a range of up to 1,000 km are totally absurd.

Regarding the second part of the question, I want to stress that after six rounds of mutual deliberations between the SED and the SPD, on 6 September this year the activity of a group of experts was successfully concluded by working out a document entitled "Principles for the Creation of a Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons in Central Europe." Its centerpiece consists of bringing primarily the states located on the line dividing the two military-political groupings into negotiations on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe. This would include a part of the territory of the GDR, the FRG, and the CSSR, 150 km wide on each side, with the possibility of extending it to include the central European zone.

We in Czechoslovakia value this initiative as being unequivocally, positive, because it contributes to strengthening mutual trust, to the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and to disarmament. On 23 October Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, officially announced that the CPCZ is officially joining this initiative. The aforementioned project is namely in the spirit of the joint appeal of the Warsaw Pact states of 8 April this year--addressed to all European countries, the United States, and Canada--to undertake, without delay, resolute steps aimed at creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the European continent.

[Question] /Do you think that the U.S. military-industrial complex, to which the arms race brings fairy-tale-like profits, would really strictly observe the Soviet-American agreements, had they been signed by Gorbachev and Reagan in Reykjavik in the form proposed by the Soviet Union?

[Signed] J. Pekarkova,/ P. J. Safarik University, Kosice

[Chnoupek] Let us concede that, had the American Government accepted the proposals of the Soviet side in Reykjavik and signed an agreement on scrapping nuclear weapons and on the nonmilitarization of outer space, it would be obliged to observe it according to the old contractual principle "Pacta sunt servanda--treaties have to be observed." This would not only have an important legal, but also a moral-political value. Regarding the American military-industrial complex--as one describes the actually existing union of the most reactionary political circles, owners of arms monopolies, and the military hierarchy--that complex itself as such has no legislative or executive power. Thus, it cannot officially and directly intervene in the process of the creation of international treaties, to say nothing about their observance.

But, and this is very important, groups connected with militarism, with huge profits flowing from the feverish arms buildup, have considerable political power in their hands, a number of effective economic levers, as well as numerous instruments that influence public opinion. Their potential should not be overestimated but, on the other hand, one has to see that in American political life they constitute a real power to apply pressure, which tries in all possible ways to create conditions to make the arms buildup flourish and to thwart the process of disarmament and detente. This applies in particular to their attitude toward the "Star Wars" program.

The military-industrial complex has been developing a great effort to be able to also directly influence the determination of the general line of American foreign policy. It stepped up its pressure prior to Reykjavik. And we know the result of that pressure. Neither in Reykjavik nor after it does the American side admit the possibility of an agreement on the banning of laser weapons, electromagnetic cannons, and all other military systems planned for outer space. When--under the influence of the Soviet Union--it acceded to the possibility of scrapping nuclear weapons, at the same time, it immediately made this contingent upon creating new space devices, devices comparable with nuclear weapons, and sometimes even more effective. Thus, representatives of the military-industrial complex were not waiting for the treaty to be signed in order to force it to be torpedoed afterwards, as is the case with SALT II. Thus far they ensured that no contractually legal obligations would be entered into in Reykjavik.

[Question] /What stance have the representatives of the Communist Party of China adopted to the peace proposals submitted by M. Gorbachev in Reykjavik?  
[Signed] Pavol Matuska, / worker, Computer Technology Enterprise, Banska Bystrica

[Chnoupek] In the PRC they have welcomed the Reykjavik meeting, because they regard Soviet-American relations--in a similar way to other countries--as one of the vital factors of the development of the international situation. Today they hold the view that dialogue is better than confrontation. The Chinese press stressed the latest Soviet initiatives in Reykjavik and explained the reasons why the Soviet Union could not budge on the key issue of "Star Wars." And, conversely, Washington was criticized for failing to reach agreements on

strategic weapons and intermediate-range missiles, owing to its continuing endeavor to achieve military superiority through the development of space weapons. The PRC has called on the USSR and the United States to continue their talks, and declare that the United States must now "step on the gas" ["pridat"], otherwise the dialogue is imperiled.

The leading Chinese representatives' statements against the arms race, for averting the militarization of space, for a universal ban on and the total scrapping of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons are known. We value in particular the fact that, next to supporting a moratorium on nuclear tests, China pledged that--in a similar way to the USSR--it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

I am convinced that these stances are based on a sincere interest in preserving peace in the world. At present the Chinese people are carrying out demanding tasks connected with the country's comprehensive modernization, for the fulfillment of which they objectively need peace and peaceful cooperation with all countries of the world.

[Question] /What role does the FRG play in the U.S. neoglobal strategy and its plans for the so-called Star Wars? Is the Federal Republic--under Washington's direction--not designed to play the same role in Europe as Israel does in the Middle East?

[Signed] Zdenek Huml, / pensioner Marianske lazne

[Chnoupek] The FRG is one of the closest U.S. allies in Europe. The pro-American orientation has been further enhanced in the policy of the present Federal Government. A number of its steps--beginning with the deployment of new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles, all the way to the support for the "Star Wars" project (the FRG was the second, after Great Britain, to conclude an agreement with the United States at the end of this March on participation in "Star Wars")--document best the broad harmony of interests of the ruling circles of the FRG and the United States.

Social and territorial revanchism also has an important place in the anticomunist strategy of American imperialism. In the FRG it is also being kept alive with the support of official quarters. Chancellor Kohl's recent visit to Washington also reaffirmed the FRG-U.S. unanimity of views. Partial differences are rather of a tactical nature. The presence of an almost quarter-of-a-million-strong U.S. Army on the territory of the Federal Republic, the neighborhood with two socialist states, and exceptional stockpiles of nuclear and non-nuclear arsenals in the FRG are not negligible facts of the interests of American neoglobalism.

And of course one sees that in this country there also exist influential realistic forces which oppose subordination to the adventurous U.S. policy, which are in favor of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous international cooperation.

[Question] /Can one presume that the change in the correlation of forces in the U.S. congress will, at least partly, contribute to an improvement in international relations?

[Signed] Jan Novosad,/ secondary economic school, Liberec

[Chnoupek] The new correlation of forces in the American Congress will apparently not show up more markedly in the sphere of foreign policy (and especially not in the attitude toward disarmament talks with the USSR).

Although one can presume that the democratic majority in Congress will strive for a certain curtailment of expenditure for some armament components, including the "Star Wars" program (in the first place in the interest of reducing the large budget deficit), and perhaps even to halt the support for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary gangs, and although it will be asserting a more resolute U.S. Government course vis-a-vis the Republic of South Africa, one cannot expect more fundamental changes in the American attitude toward global issues.

[Question] /At the end of the seventies, rightist forces defending the program to deploy the most modern American, intermediate-range nuclear devices on the European continent won elections in a number of West European countries. What caused this?

[Signed] Engineer Zdenek Skorepa,/ worker [pracovnik], Czech Advanced Technical School Prague 5

[Chnoupek] The defeat of some liberal bourgeois Western European governments in the second half of the seventies was, above all, the consequence of their unsuccessful economic and social policy, which did not fulfill the expectations of the broad popular masses. For example, a considerable part of the voters in Britain viewed the aggravated development of the crisis as a confirmation of the incorrectness of the former liberal-reformist line. The consequence was strengthened support for the contemporary conservative ideology and policy, which was reflected in the electoral victory of the Conservative Party.

In the FRG the inability to avert these phenomena led to the aggravation of intraparty conflicts within the SPD and in the relationship with the FDP, to the disintegration of the government coalition, and to the setting up of a new government. So much for the first part of the question.

Regarding its second part, one has to see that, at a time when the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe was being decided, rightist governments were already in power in a number of Western European countries. There the assent to the deployment of American missiles was given as a consequence of the political-military and economic subordination to, and the intertwining of these states' governments with the interests of the United States and NATO. But not only the rightist government parties were involved. At that time, for example, the French and Portuguese socialist parties also took positive stances on the deployment of the missiles, and unfortunately they are still maintaining those stances.

[Question] /What is the level of CEMA-EEC relations, and what role does the CSSR play in them?

[Signed] A group of students,/ Advanced School of Economics, Prague

[Chnoupek] CEMA and the EEC constitute two large integratory groupings. However, they have not yet established official relations. One of the consequences of this state of affairs is the fact that their mutual trade constitutes only 4 percent of the volume of world trade. And this is despite the fact that their member-countries account for about one-half of world industrial production.

The CEMA member-countries have never opposed relations with the nonsocialist states, provided they were not of a discriminatory nature and that they proceeded from the principles of equality and mutual advantage. Following the Helsinki conference in particular, new possibilities of economic relations between CEMA and the EEC have cropped up--for example in the sphere of modernizing communications systems, including all types of transportation; expansion of joint scientific research, including space research; and environment protection--which, however, have not been fully used. In the seventies there were talks on the establishment of contacts between CEMA and the EEC, during which the EEC side laid down demands that were unacceptable to us, however.

In the interest of improving the general atmosphere in relations between the two organizations and their member-countries, the socialist states came up with a new initiative at the economic consultation of the CEMA member-states on the highest level in Moscow in 1984. CEMA proposed adopting a common declaration on the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, which would contribute to improving political and economic relations in Europe and in the world. The first deliberations of experts pertaining to the draft of that declaration were held in Geneva on 22-24 September this year.

The CSSR fully supports the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, and the establishment of bilateral relations between the EEC and all CEMA member-countries. We are also prepared to arrange our bilateral relations with the EEC on a mutually advantageous and equal foundation, and begin experts' talks in this respect.

[Question] /Wherein lies the fundamental difference between the concept of separate Arab-Israeli negotiations and the proposal to convene an authoritative international conference on solving the situation in the Middle East?

[Signed] Andrej Franko,/ pensioner, Medzilaborace

[Chnoupek] The concept of separate Arab-Israeli negotiations proceeds from the global and regional ambitions of the United States and Israel. Their objective is to smash the united front of the Arab countries and force them to accept a solution which would prevent the assertion of their justified demands and legitimate rights, particularly the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own state. In that respect the Camp David

accords, signed under the supervision of and with the participation of the United States are a sad example, which have brought the Palestinian cause neither peace nor progress. They were a failure, just like the accord forced upon Lebanon by Israel and the United States in 1983. Under pressure from Lebanese patriots, that accord was finally abrogated.

With regard to our approach, together with the socialist countries and the majority of the UN member-states we are pursuing the comprehensive, lasting, and just solution of this old problem. We consider the convening of an international conference on the Middle East--with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--to be the foundation for this. We proceed from the conviction that only such a forum can create favorable conditions for the initiation and successful conclusion of a process which would bring lasting and internationally guaranteed peace in that region.

The recent Soviet proposal to set up a preparatory committee for the convening of such conference, with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and possibly also other directly interested parties, brings a new dynamism into the process oriented toward settling this serious international problem.

[Question] /How would you describe the current level of Czechoslovak-Israeli relations? What prevents the resumption of diplomatic relations severed almost 20 years ago?

[Signed] Lubomir Stejskal,/ Nejdek

[Chnoupek] As you certainly know, in 1967 following the Israeli aggression against the neighboring Arab countries, we severed not only diplomatic relations with that country, but also all economic and cultural cooperation and contacts in all other fields. Czechoslovak-Israeli relations still remain at this zero-level because the Israeli aggression and its consequences persist. Israel continues an expansionist policy aimed at a permanent occupation of Arab territories. By doing this, it has escalated the tension in the Middle East region and, in fact, it renders impossible the assertion of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to the establishment of a sovereign independent state. As long as Israel does not leave the occupied Arab territories and does not assent to a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis and its core, the Palestinian question, the obstacles which prevent our resuming diplomatic relations with that country will persist.

[Question] /I would like to know how bourgeois information media assess the withdrawal of a part of the limited Soviet contingent from Afghanistan? What is characteristic of domestic political developments in that country today?

[Signed] Jan Gazda,/ Tyn nad Vltavou

[Chnoupek] In connection with the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments a total of 130 foreign journalists, including correspondents from Western countries, were invited to Afghanistan at the end of October. Despite the fact that they

could personally follow the withdrawal of the troops and press conferences were arranged for them, publicity in the Western information media was minimal. Intentional distortion of facts and attempts at belittlement predominated. Thus, the bourgeois information media were mostly subordinated to the stances of those governments that are not interested in a political settlement of the situation around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA].

The characteristic feature of current developments in the DRA is the endeavor to maximally consolidate and expand the social foundations of the revolution, a matter which has manifested itself, among other things, in the fact that the highest state agencies--the Revolutionary Council and the country's government--have been augmented by representatives of various nationality groups, social organizations, and social strata. The recent elections for local authority agencies have significantly contributed to the stabilization of internal political life. The new party leadership, headed by Comrade Najib, consistently implements the line of democratizing social life, strengthening the party ranks, and speedily solving issues connected with the country's economic development. Parallel with that, an intensive struggle is being waged against subversive counterrevolutionary elements and armed gangs, who are comprehensively supported and directed from abroad.

[Question] /How are our diplomats for foreign service selected, what are the demands regarding their education? Is there a special academy for their professional training?

[Signed] Engineer Alena Svojanovska,/ Brno

[Chnoupek] The high demands on the staff of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FMZV) are determined by the character of the socialist diplomat's work. Foreign service requires, above all, extensive political and professional knowledge from many spheres of our socialist state, of international relations, international law, economic, cultural, and historical developments, the solution of topical international issues, and the like. In addition, candidates for foreign service must fulfill high demands with regard to the moral and character qualities required of a diplomat of a socialist country. In view of the FMZV's needs and specific requirements, the selection of suitable candidates for the Czechoslovak foreign service is made from several sources. In the first place, graduates of secondary schools and students at Czechoslovak institutes of higher learning are selected for study at the Foreign Relations Institute in Moscow, where in the course of 5 years they acquire political, linguistic, and other knowledge from the sphere of social sciences. On the basis of the FMZV's needs and requirements they specialize in individual spheres, and at the same time learn corresponding languages. Another source for the selection of foreign service staffers lies in the graduates of the Czechoslovak institutes of higher learning. When accepted for foreign service, they too are subject to high professional and political demands.

The FMZV, and thus also the Czechoslovak representative agencies, are further complemented by experienced workers [pracovnici] from the party

apparatus and by workers with long experience in other key spheres of our political-social life.

[Question] /One thing bothers me in connection with relations among the socialist states. Not so many years ago, private visits to the neighboring East European socialist countries used to be a fairly simple matter. However, getting permission for mutual visits today is more complicated in some cases. Why?

[Signed] Ludevit Beniac,/ measuring and regulatory systems mechanic Synmthesia Pardubice-Semtin

[Chnoupek] Tourism has become an integral part of the standard of living and the way of life of the population in the CSSR. In view of its growing political, economic, and social importance, it has become an objective national phenomenon, markedly affecting all spheres of our society's life. I can document this with the following data. In 1985, 16.5 million tourists paid a visit to our country, and about 8.4 million of our citizens went for a trip abroad. This figure amounts to about 57 percent of the total population. This is without doubt a large portion, and this has been so for a long time. It will stand comparison with other countries. Thus, for example, this figure was 50.5 percent in the Hungarian People's Republic, and more than 20 percent in Denmark and Finland. Thus, one can say that Czechoslovakia, accounting for about 1 percent of the total volume of world tourism, is one of the developed tourist countries. This also applies to our relations with the socialist countries. Here organized tourism is being developed preferentially-- quantitatively and qualitatively.

A certain regulation of individual tourism is connected with the differing price policy on the domestic market in the individual socialist states, as well as with certain issues concerning exchange rates. Each socialist country subsidizes certain kinds of goods, which become attractive to the citizens of neighboring countries and the subject of considerable interest for so-called shopping tourism.

[Question] /France, Britain, the PRC, Pakistan, Israel, and the Republic of South Africa, for example, are among the countries which one knows or supposes to be in possession of nuclear weapons. If the USSR and the United States agree on the total scrapping of nuclear weapons, would there be no danger that other countries would misuse these dangerous weapons to blackmail other countries?

[Signed] Jan Oravec,/ Valaska

[Chnoupek] The endeavor to limit, reduce, and completely scrap nuclear weapons has to be understood as a process which is taking place in a certain space and time [prostоръ a case]. Because the USSR and the United States possess the largest nuclear potential and bear the main responsibility for maintaining peace and not permitting nuclear war, it is logical that they must show initiative in nuclear disarmament. The USSR initiatives for the gradual scrapping of nuclear weapons presuppose this. What is involved is that, in the first stage, both the USSR and the United States set a good example,

manifest resolute political will and--on the basis of equality and not jeopardizing the security of any party--markedly reduce the number of their nuclear weapons. In the following stages it is naturally assumed that all other states which own nuclear weapons--or could soon have them--would join the nuclear disarmament process. Of course, the entire process would have to take place under the strictest international supervision. A pledge by the USSR and the United States to embark upon a path toward total nuclear disarmament would create a completely new situation in the world. This situation would require a system of guarantees which would enlist all nuclear states in the process of eliminating nuclear weapons. Parallel with that, one would have to strengthen the regimen [rezim] of the nonproliferation nuclear weapons--on the basis of the 1968 Nonproliferation Treaty--in such a way as to exclude, already at the embryonic stage, any risk of misuse and possibility of blackmail on the part of other states, so that the regimen would become truly universal and inviolable. Another irreplaceable role would certainly be played here by the tried-and-tested IAEA control system.

[Question] /The Soviet Union proposes ridding mankind of the danger of nuclear destruction. However, some people still think that the truth lies somewhere halfway between the stances of the USSR and the United States. Is something like this possible on the issue of nuclear disarmament?

[Signed] Karel Schor,/ 32 years old, pipelayer, North Bohemian Fats Enterprise, Usti nad Labem

[Chnoupek] Without doubt your question is a reaction to a momentous topical phenomenon which has emerged at the center of the world public's attention, especially following the Reykjavik meeting. On the one hand, this meeting has shown the real possibility of achieving agreements on radically reducing nuclear hardware and, among other things, on its complete removal from the European continent. On the other hand, it demonstrated the profound differences in the two sides' views on the issue of ensuring world security. As I have already said, circles representing the U.S. military-industrial complex, and after Reykjavik also some Western European politicians, assert that a world without nuclear weapons is a utopia. After all, nuclear weapons allegedly constitute an effective deterrent against the "aggressive plans of the East." Moreover, they effectively neutralize the alleged Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional forces. Thus both sides will always have to keep a certain quantity of nuclear weapons.

At the moment I do not want to go into disproving in detail this old-new argument which, intentionally or not, ignores the essence of the Soviet initiatives, which presuppose the scrapping of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, and a radical reduction of conventional forces and equipment as well. I do not wish to analyze some Western representatives, who only yesterday saw nuclear weapons on the scrap-heap, and who today, when a ray of hope has really flashed in that issue, say that without nuclear weapons the security of the world is impossible.

I would rather want to ponder the source of the Soviet Union's conviction, which we fully share, that ensuring the world's security is possible and

necessary precisely by scrapping this kind of weapon, and weapons in general. If for centuries the security of every state or alliance was ensured by military strength, today, under the conditions of the nuclear and space era--when even as a result of a technical error the existing more perfect weapons could destroy the whole of mankind--the security of states and the survival of mankind has to rely on other than military means. From this historical, far-reaching viewpoint the composite disarmament program of the Soviet Union proceeds oriented toward materially scrapping the means of waging war.

Hand in hand with that goes its endeavor to also create nonmaterial guarantees for this truly comprehensive system of peace and international security. This involves moral-psychological guarantees, that is, creating the necessary atmosphere of trust in the world. And this also involves political-legal relations, that is, working out international documents which would be politically and legally binding for all states of the world.

This process, naturally, will be gradual and far-reaching [perspektivni] but, as Reykjavik has intimated, this perspective can only be counted in decades. Mankind cannot afford the luxury of wasting more time. The growing comprehension of this necessity on the part of world public opinion makes the arguments of those who have made the feverish arms buildup the source of their fairytale-like profits more than shaky.

[Question] /After the end of the Reykjavik meeting the American leadership grossly distorted its course, a matter that made M. Gorbachev appear on television. How, with the passing of time, does the capitalist and the developing world assess the course and the results of that meeting?  
[Signed] Engineer Karel Zeman, / department head in the Gama National Enterprise, Ceske Budejovice

[Chnoupek] Shortly after the meeting in Reykjavik, very "free" interpretations of what was really discussed in Iceland have begun to crop up increasingly frequently in the public speeches of leading American representatives. The intention behind this is quite obvious. The United States is trying to revise all aspects of the mutual understanding achieved at that meeting, and even wants to withdraw to positions of the pre-Reykjavik times. At absolute variance with what has been achieved in Iceland, it completely disclaims the concept of a global solution to the main problem, that is, the scrapping of all USSR and U.S. nuclear arsenals within 10 years, above all arsenals of offensive weapons. Thus, it is obvious that so far the United States has not seriously contemplated markedly limiting the arms buildup.

And how is Reykjavik assessed in the other capitalist countries? At the follow-up meeting in Vienna the debate of foreign ministers of the signatory countries of the Final Act has yielded a composite picture. Typical, for example, are the words of West German Minister H. D. Genscher that "it is important to build on the results achieved in Reykjavik, and that nothing of what has been achieved there must be wasted." Or the statement of his Italian

colleague Andreotti, that "Reykjavik's contribution will create the foundation for future negotiations." Minister Ellemann-Jensen of Denmark spoke in a similarly positive spirit, saying that the Danish Government "firmly believes that the potential for achieving an agreement will be completely used"; or Frydenlund of Norway, that "Reykjavik is a platform for further endeavor"; or Turkish Minister Halefoglu, that "the meeting has drawn stances closer on the vital issue of nuclear arms control." Unfortunately such assessments have not resounded from all quarters. For example, London, even though it does not regard the meeting as a failure, narrows its significance to only bringing the stances closer, and at the same time it fully supports the U.S. arguments on issues concerning the militarization of outer space. The British prime minister even advised President Reagan not to accede to an agreement which would deprive the European allies of the "nuclear umbrella."

Some other U.S. allies in NATO also display a similar spirit of Atlantic solidarity.

Regarding the reaction of the developing countries, among them the view prevails that Reykjavik has shown a clear perspective of a world without nuclear weapons. These countries well realize Reykjavik's importance and usefulness, above all from the viewpoint that it has contributed to clarifying the two sides' positions.

[Question] /In your speech in Vienna you proposed the convening of an economic forum in Prague. Can one expect a positive response to that proposal from the side of the EEC member-countries?

[Signed] Maria Toth,/ Palarikovo

[Chnoupek] The socialist countries, and thus also Czechoslovakia, are profoundly interested in the active continuation of the Europe-wide process. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev called this process "building a common European home." And every home should have firm foundations. In this case this also comprises economic cooperation. We are convinced that one can achieve a more stable era of detente by expanding trade, by more extensive industrial cooperation, more extensive utilization of new technologies, including nontraditional sources of energy, expanding cooperation in the sphere of transportation, and by common measures in the sphere of the environment. All this has to be discussed.

We would like such deliberations, held in Prague between the Vienna meeting and the next follow-up meeting, to be attended by prominent representatives of the spheres of trade, industry, financial institutions, management, and science from the CSCE signatory states.

We have the socialist countries' full support for convening this. This idea meets with a favorable response among the majority of the neutral and nonaligned countries and of some CSCE member-states. Of course, judging by the speeches of the heads of delegations of the individual countries in Vienna, we can also expect similar initiatives from the side of the West European countries. For example, D. Genscher, FRG minister of foreign

affairs, said in his speech that the Federal Government proposes holding a conference in the FRG to discuss ways and means to improve, expand, and update economic cooperation--with the participation of trade representatives at such a conference. The ministers of foreign affairs of Spain, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, Turkey, and others favored the expansion of economic, trade, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation, and the intensification of cooperation in environmental protection.

The fact is that in Vienna none of the ministers of foreign affairs opposed our proposal. At the moment it is premature to draw any conclusion. However, my opinion is that our significant initiative, and we were the first to put it forward, will win general support and assent.

/The press conference of readers with Minister B. Chnoupek was arranged and edited by RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA editors Vladimir Divis, Milan Jelinek, and Rudolf Nittmann./

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## CHNOUPEK ANSWERS READERS' QUESTIONS, PART II

AU261200 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 86 p 6

[**"On Topical Issue of the International Situation; Second Part of the Press Conference of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA Readers With B. Chnoupek, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs"**--passages between slantlines published in boldface; first and last paragraphs are supplied by newspaper]

**[Excerpts]** Last Saturday [15 November], we published the first part of the press conference "at a distance" on topical issues of the international situation with Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. In view of the great number of questions which arrived in the RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA editorial offices from readers from all parts of the republic (many of the questions, understandably, were repeats) we publish today answers to further topical questions, concerning global problems as well as Czechoslovakia's bilateral relations with some countries. And with this we conclude the press conference "at a distance" and thank all who contributed to it by their questions.

**[Question]** /If an agreement banning the arms buildup in outer space is not concluded shortly, the funding and the development of that program will advance so far that the United States will hardly abandon it later. In such a case, what measures will the socialist states adopt, and how will it influence the relations between East and West?

**[Signed]** Vilem Hofman,/ dispatcher of the United Farmers Cooperative Kuparovice, district Brno-environs

**[Question]** /Does a realistic hope exist for the unification of a course of action of all European countries against the unscrupulous program of the space arms buildup conducted by the U.S. Government?

**[Signed]** Engineer Zdenek Skorepa,/ worker of the Czech High School of Technology, Prague 5

**[Chnoupek]** The attitude toward the U.S. plans for the militarization of outer space, particularly after the Soviet-American summit, is becoming a barometer of disarmament. Reykjavik has created a qualitatively new situation. In Western Europe it is now better understood that the United States' clinging to transferring the arms buildup into outer space is a barrier on the road to a nuclear-free world. Illusions are out of place, however. The so-called

Strategic Defense Initiative is at the same time the point of intersection of two contradictory foreign political lines and approaches to the fundamental issues of peace and security. The Soviet Union and the socialist states are in favor of a peaceful utilization of and cooperation in outer space. In this respect they have submitted realistic proposals in the UN too. We believe that this broadly based activity will yield results.

It is increasingly evident that farsighted and realistic politicians as well as the public in Western Europe do not wish our continent to be at mercy of "superweapons." They do not want it to become hostage to and victim of an error of supercomputers. And this, despite the fact that the public is subjected to disinformation campaigns, distortion of facts, even on the part of some official Western representatives. However, we are convinced that the process of the clarification of views and stances on "Star Wars" has not been concluded in Western Europe. We believe that the general public will also voice its opinion and help to prevent outer space from becoming militarized.

Our foreign policy, in close cooperation with our allies, aware of its shared responsibility, makes use of every opportunity during bilateral as well as multilateral deliberations and contributes to asserting new political thinking in international relations. We proceed from the fact that one must prevent the transfer of the arms buildup into outer space immediately, while there is still time for it.

The representatives of the USSR have more than once let it be clearly known that there is an appropriate answer to any alternative to the considered "Star Wars" weapons. The answer would be asymmetric, that is, not like the one which the other side might expect. Soviet science and technology have the potential to develop a number of ways and means of defensive countermeasures, which would be able to render the space military systems harmless [znehotnotit]. And to do it in time. Efficiently. And with lower costs.

[Question] /What are the prerequisites for the further development of relations between the socialist countries and the PRC, and how can this influence the overall situation in the world? Does a possibility of an early expansion of cooperation between the CSSR and Albania exist?

[Signed] Frantisek Spale,/ Benesov near Prague

[Chnoupek] Together with our allies, we pay particular attention to the issue of the development of relations with the PRC. An important thing is that we can depend on a number of positive experiences, which we have accumulated during our cooperation in the past. We attentively follow the effort of the Chinese people and their Communist Party to modernize the country. Just like all the socialist countries, the PRC, too, has set itself the demanding task of accelerating social and economic progress. This creates objective conditions for a comprehensive cooperation of the countries of the socialist community with the PRC.

On many fundamental issues we have very close or identical standpoints. The PRC Government now proceeds from the principles of peaceful coexistence with

all states, strives to consolidate peace and disarmament. It has declared that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, it does not carry out nuclear tests, opposes the arms buildup in outer space, and is in favor of resolving contentious issues through negotiations. It is in the economic sphere that the PRC-CSSR relations have been developing most dynamically in recent years. I think that the development of mutual foreign trade can be perceived on our market also. And there exists the possibility of expanding it further. The 1986-90 CSSR-PRC trade agreement, which envisages the turnover of goods exchange to total 5 billion Swiss francs, is an important step forward on the path we have taken to long-term, stable, and mutually advantageous operation in this sphere.

The aforementioned facts tellingly show the possibility of developing the relations of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the PRC further. Naturally, such development of relations--and we are interested in it, and objective conditions exist for it--would be, undoubtedly, a contribution. In the interest of socialism, peace, international security, and cooperation.

Regarding Czechoslovak-Albanian relations, they are developing most markedly in the economic sphere. It is not without interest that the CSSR is Albania's second most important trading partner. The long-term trade agreement, signed last January, will contribute to the further expansion of these relations. According to the trade agreement, the mutual exchange of goods is to increase 30 percent by 1990.

There also exist prerequisites for expanding relations into other spheres, a matter that was on the agenda of the talks held by representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs in Tirana last September. We submitted concrete proposals on how to further develop cooperation. Favorable prospects for cooperation are in health care and transportation.

As has been the case until now, we are prepared also in the future to fully normalize our relations and to expand the mutually advantageous cooperation further.

[Question] /Do we still have unresolved issues pertaining to property rights settlements with any country, as was the case, for example, until 1982 with the United States and Britain?

[Signed] F. Janovsky, / Pribram

[Chnoupek] The problem of property settlements on the international level is exceptionally extensive and complicated. The events of the last world war and the revolutionary changes in postwar Czechoslovakia have elicited a number of property and financial issues; they have elicited many mutual claims, which--from the position of the Western states and their nationals--lacked legitimacy.

The number of international contractual documents concluded by the Czechoslovak side and regulating property affairs, which could not be resolved on the civil law level, exceeds 60. I do not have to particularly stress that

the most difficult and longest negotiations were over claims submitted to us by the capitalist states, and which were connected with Czechoslovak nationalization, expropriation, and some other measures.

From 1947 until 1982, the CSSR concluded a total of 15 agreements with European states, Canada, and the United States on the settlement of open property rights and financial issues. Involved were issues in which the claims of foreign nations were the most financially demanding ones. Neither international law nor our laws forced us to conclude these agreements. The economic and political interests of socialism required this, the need to remove obstacles preventing the development of peaceful cooperation among countries having different social systems.

At present, the Czechoslovak side is not conducting any further negotiations on settlements which would be connected with our nationalization and other similar measures, and also does not envisage such negotiations. We have no unresolved property or financial issues with any country.

This, of course, does not mean that problems in the sphere of property rights do not exist, which must be assessed on an interstate level. For example, for years now we have been striving for indemnity for our citizens who became victims of the racial and political persecution of the Hitlerite regime. The agencies of the FRG have in various forms settled the persecution claims of the majority of the citizens of the West European and some East European states. Our citizens are still waiting.

[Question] /What chance is there for rapprochement between the DPRK and South Korea? Does the CSSR maintain relations with Seoul, Hong Kong, and Taiwan?

[Signed] Karel Horvath,/ Trencin

[Chnoupek] It is generally known that during its entire existence, the DPRK has been striving for a peaceful unification of Korea on democratic foundations and without foreign interference. Our republic has always fully supported that just endeavor, which is hampered only by the policy of imperialism. The most serious obstacle to the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula is the continuing presence of American troops in South Korea; the stockpiling of modern weapons, including American nuclear devices; the holding of provocative maneuvers; and the dragging of the country's southern part into a military alliance with Washington and Tokyo. The practice shows that as long as the South Korean regime does not change its stance on that issue, the possibilities for rapprochement will not be favorable.

We regard our friendly and bilaterally beneficial cooperation with the DPRK to be a positive contribution to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist countries and the peace forces of the world. We stand fully behind the DPRK's endeavor for the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Regarding Taiwan, we regard it as an integral part of the PRC.

Hong Kong's position, as is known, is somewhat different in the sense that it is a British colony, which, on the basis of the already-agreed Sino-British accord, will become a part of the PRC with a special status in 1997.

/The readers' press conference with Minister B. Chnoupek was arranged by RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA editors Vladimir Divis, Milan Jelinek, and Rudolf Nittmann./

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**PEZLAR ON RELATIONS WITH SYRIA**

AU031443 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, by PRAVDA staff journalist Julius P. Loerincz:  
"Together With Good Friends"--place and date of interview not given; initial paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] A study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, headed by Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, paid a visit to Syria recently (9-17 November). After his return home, our editor Julius P. Loerincz asked him for an interview.

[Loerincz] There is no doubt that Czechoslovak-Syrian relations are very lively and multifaceted. How do you see them now, after a visit to Syria, and what part do the contacts between the CPCZ and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party play in them?

[Pezlar] Czechoslovakia and Syria really have very good political, economic, and cultural relations, which have their roots in the past. At one time, the prominent Czech orientalist Bedrich Hrozny lived in Damascus, and he called that country "ex Oriente lux," the light from the East. Czechoslovakia was one of the first countries to recognize Syria after its liberation from colonialism. One can meet graduates of our institutes of higher learning almost anywhere. Czechoslovak experts have greatly contributed to the stormy development of that country, which celebrated the 40th anniversary of its independence this year.

The cooperation between trade union, youth, and other social organizations of the two countries, between institutes of higher learning, some ministries, and other state agencies is successfully developing. At present, about 200 Syrians are studying at our institutes of higher learning. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the CSSR and the Syrian Arab Republic, which was signed in October 1985 on the occasion of the visit by Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, to Czechoslovakia, is the firm foundation for the further development and intensification of multidimensional forms of mutual relations. Also the development of cooperation between the leading political forces of the two countries--the CPCZ and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'th)--has to be viewed in this context. The two parties

have regular contacts and are exchanging delegations. The 17th CPCZ Congress was addressed by a representative of the Communist Party of Syria, which also is member of the Progressive National Front, and by Taufik Salih [spelling as published], representative of the Regional Command of the Ba'th Party.

[Loerincz] What was the concrete objective of the CPCZ Central Committee study delegation's visit to Syria?

[Pezlar] The objective of the CPCZ Central Committee's delegation, which I headed, was to get acquainted with the experience of the Ba'th Party in politically educating its members and with problems connected with its cultural and educational policy. All meetings and talks, be it at the level of the Central Committee or at the level of regional, local, or plant party branches, were held in the spirit of an absolutely free exchange of views, and were marked by an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual understanding, and endeavor to continue expanding the cooperation between the CPCZ and the Ba'th so as to not only fully correspond to the good results of the political, economic, and cultural cooperation on the interstate level, but also serve as an impetus for them.

The meetings and talks with members and functionaries of the party in Damascus, but also in Aleppo, Homs, Dar'a, in enterprises, schools, cultural institutes, affirmed the unanimity or closeness of the two sides' views on the fundamental issues of the current international situation, and especially on the Middle East problems.

The fact that the party and state agencies do not neglect care for cultural institutions and historical monuments, of which there are many in Syria, made a great impression on the members of the delegation, especially because of the need to use so many resources for defense (50 percent of the budget).

All agencies and organizations of the Ba'th party pay great attention to the patriotic upbringing and political education of the party's members and candidate members. They have accumulated a voluminous and remarkable experience in that respect.

By the way, the chairman of the organizational committee for the delegation's sojourn was Dr Alaaddin Abdin [spelling as published], member of the Central Committee and secretary of the party branch in Damascus, who studied in Prague and speaks fluent Czech.

[Loerincz] You were in Syria precisely at the time when the reactionary forces of imperialism launched psychological and economic warfare against that Arab country under the pretext that it supports "terrorism." What is behind this outrageous campaign?

[Pezlar] The real reason for the pressure on Syria is the firm anti-imperialist stance of that country, that it obstructs the plans of zionists and international reaction to control the entire Middle East region. Nazar Hindawi, the central figure in the alleged attempt to blow up an Israeli

aircraft in London, is a provocateur, who has nothing in common with Syrian agencies. The ancient Romans used to ask, "cui prodest?"--whom does it serve? The answer is unambiguous: Zionists and those who are behind them. The entire case reminds one far too much of the so-called Tonkin incident of August 1964 when--under the pretext that the Vietnamese were allegedly shelling American ships--the United States unleashed a ferocious bombardment on Vietnam. However, later it was shown that this was a provocation organized by American militarist circles: an investigation conducted by the U.S. Congress confirmed that no one had attacked the ships.

In a speech delivered at the congress of the General Trade Union Federation, Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Regional Command and of the Central Committee of the Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, himself gave a cogent reply to the latest provocation against Syria. Our delegation witnessed the people's spontaneous agreement with his speech, which was broadcast by radio and television. He stressed that Syria was and is against terrorism. The bourgeois press conceals the fact that it was precisely he who proposed setting up an international body which would define terrorism and expressed Syria's willingness to cooperate with it in the struggle against that phenomenon.

One cannot fail to see that the reactionary forces of imperialism are employing various forms of terrorism against the Syrian Arab Republic. Thus, for example, they support and fund the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood. Consisting mostly of extreme rightists and religious fanatics. Among other things, its members tried to attack the refinery in Homs, which was built in cooperation with Czechoslovakia and which our delegation visited.

Foreign ideodiversionary radio programs, such as the Voice of Koran and the Voice of Angel, fan and direct the activity of religious fanatics, despite the fact that the Ba'th Party and the state agencies are intensively educating the population in the spirit of religious tolerance. Among the historical monuments to which our delegation paid a visit was also the Patriarch's Monastery in Sajdan [spelling as published], and saw what respect many Muslim believers paid to this Christian institution. It was similar also in the Omjadan [spelling as published] Mosque in Damascus, which holds the tomb of John the Baptist, revered by Muslims and Christians alike. These phenomena are the thorn in the flesh of Syria's enemies, however.

[Loerincz] You mentioned that Syria itself is the victim of terrorist actions. Perhaps the most important thing is that it is the subject of Zionist aggression. After all, Israel still occupies a part of its territory--the Golan Heights.

[Pezlar] The visit to Kuneitra at the foot of the Golan Heights was a shocking experience and made a profound impression on our delegation. Formerly a flourishing city in the midst of vineyards, gardens, and fertile fields, it was literally razed and turned into a heap of rubble by the Israeli occupiers. A UN commission of investigators noted that the houses were not destroyed in fighting, but with explosives inside the buildings and by

bulldozers. The hospital met a similar fate. The population was driven out. Kuneitra is a convincing evidence that the most dangerous form of terrorism is state terrorism, practiced in the Middle East by the Zionists. Millions of people, above all the Palestinians, have become its victims. In the city's environs, on the liberated territory, the delegation saw newly-built villages, tended fields, new gardens. The fact that this is happening within the range of hostile artillery and rockets is testimony to the heroism of the population, as well as to the successful political-educational work of the Progressive National Front and its leading force--the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party.

One of the insidious methods of the reactionary forces is depicting the participants in the struggle against the occupiers and for national liberation as terrorists. However, according to this perverted logic George Washington, too, would have been a terrorist. After all, the treacherous invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya, and many other acts of overt aggression are clear evidence of who is the greatest terrorist at present. It is, without doubt, imperialism, and in the Middle East the Zionists in its service.

One of the main reasons for the current campaign against Syria are the successes which this country has achieved. After the liberation it had a bit more than 3 million inhabitants, currently it has more than 12 million. The entire country looks like a construction site. Great results have been achieved in the development of the people's standard of living, culture, and education. Syria has achieved self-sufficiency in food and has considerable deposits of mineral riches, among other things also diamonds and quality petroleum. It is, however, undergoing economic difficulties, and the reactionary forces of imperialism want to exploit this situation to break the firm stand of the Syrian Arab Republic, achieve changes in domestic political conditions in their favor, and control the entire Middle East region. One must not forget that the psychological warfare against Syria is accompanied by an economic warfare. The threats with direct military aggression have the objective to "arm to death" ["uzbrojít"] the country, not to permit it to use more resources for peaceful development.

However, our delegation everywhere witnessed the firm determination of the Syrian people not to give in to imperialist pressure and blackmail.

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CSO: 2400/102

## GEORGE HABBASH INTERVIEWED ON PLO UNITY

AU161900 Prague TVORBA in Czech 10 Dec 86 p 7

[Interview given by George Habbash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation on Palestine, to Milos Mendel during his "recent visit to Czechoslovakia": "Problems of the Palestinian Revolution"]

[Text] [Mendel] The Palestinian resistance movement has been in a state of deep crisis for at least 3 years now. The split within the PLO has a number of internal and external causes. How do you, Comrade Habbash, assess the current division of political forces?

[Habbash] The PLO used to be a full-fledged political and military force that had to be respected by imperialism, Zionism, and all Arab regimes. However, in the years 1983-85 it changed into a divided and split spectrum of factions. We in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] hold that the main cause of the rift within the PLO is the class nature of its leadership. Moreover, the political answers given by this leadership to the questions of our people following the departure from Beirut (in August 1982--editor's note) did not satisfy our masses. There were many such questions. For example: What to do with the units that remained in Lebanon? Can we make them capable of combat there, or are they doomed to extinction? Can we rely on them in the interest of restoring a military presence in all parts of the Lebanon? Can we militarily protect our refugee camps, including those in southern Lebanon, or shall we deliver them to the mercy of the enemy?

Another question: What will be the nature of the Palestinian revolution henceforth? By what means shall we strengthen it? Shall we be in the position to carry on the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy? And if yes, how? If not, will diplomatic efforts provide an alternative? Will patient trips to the United Nations and diverse countries suffice to score success?

The reply which a part of the PLO leadership gave to these questions can be summed up as follows: Following the loss of our positions in Lebanon, the whole of the Middle East fell into the hands of the United States. It is up to us to respect this reality and to adapt our further steps to American solutions of the crisis and to strengthen our ties with regimes that are

close to the United States. This is the main cause of today's rift within the resistance. It is a problem of our umbrella leadership.

We can concede that, for example, the rebellion of some segments of the Fatah against the leadership played a negative role. Indeed, even some democratic forces committed certain mistakes. However, all these manifestations were only a response to the main cause of the rift--a leadership acting of its own accord.

[Mendel] Is it realistic today to hope for the attainment of unity of Palestinian organizations, at least on the platform of a minimal program?

[Habbash] To be honest, before King Husayn's speech of 19 February 1986 the question of rapprochement between Palestinian factions was a problematic one, if not outright impossible. National political unity in the shadow of the Amman accords between Husayn and the PLO would mean, in fact, that all Palestinian people approve of the solution of the Palestine issue according to American notions. Such a thing is ruled out. I admit that some groups of our bourgeoisie would be enthusiastic about an American solution, but the people would not allow this. Although King Husayn did not annul the Amman accords in his speech on 19 February, he suspended the coordination of actions with the PLO. It was as if he wanted to tell our leadership: I have used the accords for my own benefit and now you can do as you please. The PLO leadership could not help but feel cheated and betrayed. The Western camp turned down the hand stretched out by the PLO leadership. The West wanted more than the leadership was able to provide. It could back away on some partial issues but, to comply with the American notion, it would have to renounce the basic aims of the revolution and to disavow itself. And that would have been a bit too much. At that time the democratic forces of resistance vowed that this chance must be seized in order to tell the leadership: You have been cheated by the imperialists, so what are you waiting for! Return to the ranks of Palestinian patriots!

[Mendel] Does this mean that you seek the restoration of unity under the same leadership which, in your opinion, had caused the rift within the PLO?

[Habbash] Yes, under the same leadership provided that it will learn from the bitter lesson dealt to it and that it subjects its policy of the past 3 years to a critical analysis. However, political unity cannot be achieved as long as the Amman accords exist. There can be no unity on an anti-imperialist basis as long as we bank on alliance with the regime of Husni Mubarak, a regime that inherited the Camp David accords and has not renounced them. The Amman accords must be annulled in public and officially. This is, I beg your pardon, not a maximalist demand; it is the minimal prerequisite for the restoration of unity. We are not enforcing the program of the PFLP or the ideas of the Communist Party of Palestine. Unity must be achieved on the basis of national consensus, but no national consensus is possible as long as our leadership negotiates with Cairo and Amman.

[Mendel] How do you want to bring this about in real terms?

[Habbash] By reinforcing the collective nature of the leadership and revising the executive mechanisms in the leadership of the individual factions of the resistance movement. It is necessary to renew the principle of democratic dialogue, which would reveal which views are the prevalent ones within the resistance and which the leadership would have to respect. The leadership would then be unable, for example, to translate into its own language the mandatory conclusions of the 16th session of the Palestine National Council [PNC], which was held in Algiers in 1983. We demand a reconstruction of our organizational institutions on the principles of collective leadership and open dialogue.

[Mendel] This is a highly principled position in its verbal form. But the question is whether it is not inconsistent with the relentless reality. Incidentally, why does the PFLP not establish contact with the PLO leadership in the interest of restoring dialogue, which could lead, for example, to a PNC session?

[Habbash] We are not opposed to a dialogue with 'Arafat. We wish it from the bottom of our hearts. However, it would have to include the discussion of a far greater number of issues than he is willing to concede. The negotiations would have to be about the underlying principles of a future PNC. They would have to concern the ways of ensuring a democratic dialogue and, above all, the ways of preventing that dialogue from turning into armed struggle. The question would have to be included whether it is not necessary to carry out a revision of the PLO Executive Committee. And the question would also have to be included of the future proportion of the votes of individual PLO factions.

[Mendel] Is it even feasible to consider a reconstruction of the PLO and its agencies, given the fact that its individual factions have drifted so far apart?

[Habbash] We are prepared for a long and patient dialogue under one condition--the annulment of the Amman accords. These run counter to all previous PLO concepts. The PLO's strategic aim has always been the founding of an independent Palestinian state. The Amman accords propose the formation of a confederation with Jordan. In our opinion, these issues must not be the subject of negotiations or revisions. Let us not play hazardous games with the fate of our severely tested people!

[Mendel] What is the nature of the current relations between the PFLP, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP] of Nayif Hawatimah, and the Communist Party of Palestine? Why have the relations between these segments of the resistance movement not been strengthened?

[Habbash] As you know, we used to have a joint command with comrades from the DFLP. After the departure from Beirut and the rift within the PLO we felt that it was the duty of democratic forces to unite. On the basis of the joint PFLP-DFLP command, a broad framework was created for the inclusion of other

democratic forces as well, including Communists. However, after the signing of the Amman accords we consider it essential to strive for the unification of democratic forces with other patriotic forces. The fact that we were unable to agree with comrades from the DFLP on this point ultimately accounts for the failure to strengthen our ties.

[Mendel] According to a recent survey, some 77 percent of questioned inhabitants on the West Bank regard armed struggle as the only way of achieving the securing of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Only 3 percent advocated diplomatic efforts. In your opinion, what should be the correlation between these two forms of struggle?

[Habbash] There is an unwritten law and historical experience which says: If a nation falls victim to aggression and occupation, it has the right to combat them by all means available to it, including armed struggle. Or is our nation an exception to this? If we look at the whole problem from the viewpoint of the international situation and the nature of Israel, then we must ask the question: Is it possible to arrive at the formation of an independent Palestinian state without a vigorous use of arms and without revolutionizing the entire Arab region? In the seventies many nations scored great victories. Reagan and the forces of the military-industrial complex then came and postulated the slogan: International terrorism must be destroyed! How does the United States combat terrorism? By its intervention in Grenada, preparations for an intervention in Nicaragua, and its aggression against Libya. The same Reagan who today rattles with arms before the gates of Nicaragua will accomplish even the impossible to make sure that Palestinians never return to the homeland that has been stolen from them. Whenever we achieved something in the past, it was due to armed struggle. We must not allow anyone to deprive us of this option. How can Israel be expected to withdraw from occupied territories if it is not forced to do this, just as it was compelled by force to leave Lebanon?

[Mendel] The responsibility is often being ascribed to the PLO for operations such as the massacres at the Vienna and Rome airports or for acts of individual terror such as the one in the Istanbul synagogue. What do you think about this?

[Habbash] We resolutely condemn such actions. We concentrate our efforts on the occupied territories of Palestine. However, it must be realized that the main objective of this campaign is not concern about the spreading of terrorism. You know that the United States wants to spread the spirit of Camp David. Syria is opposed to this and is therefore, in the view of the United States, the seedbed of terrorism. Libya is also opposed. That is why it is under such pressure. Do you think that Reagan attacked Libya out of noblemindedness to avenge the victims of terrorist attacks? Do you think that he would send a squadron of bombers over the territory of Libya because of a few Israeli or American citizens? Incidentally, it was precisely Israel which, with the support of the United States, tested against Palestinians the most repulsive methods of terror, including the poisoning of wells and the dissemination of toys that explode in the hands of our children. What madman would believe that the motive of the American bubble around international terrorism is its sincere endeavor to liquidate it!

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## COOPERATION WITH CUBA EXPANDED

AU281338 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 14 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview given by M. Jiravy, deputy chairman of the CSSR's State Planning Commission, to Martin Komarek: "An Increasingly Significant Partner; Speaking of Further Incentives for Developing Czechoslovak-Cuban Relations"--date and place not given]

[Text] Cuba has long since ceased to be merely a country of beaches and sugar. Czechoslovakia participated in building the first industry on this Island of Freedom; our experts, such as engineering staff, economists, or geologists, and also thousands of our workers accomplished a great deal of work there. However, during the current period of intensifying the economy, the traditional Czechoslovak-Cuban cooperation is taking on new characteristics. Recently two very significant rounds of negotiations took place; they determined the future character of relations between the two countries. We have asked M. Jiravy, deputy chairman of the CSSR's State Planning Commission and a man who had considerably contributed toward elaborating the specific contents of the concluded agreements, about the results of those negotiations.

[Komarek] What new incentives for CSSR-Cuban economic cooperation are contained in the final protocol on the coordination of national economy plans in the year 1986-90, which was recently signed?

[Jiravy] The final protocol, signed by the chairman of the two countries' planning commissions, gives broad scope to developing mutual relations and to their dynamics. It is not passive scope--we can imagine it as ice hockey boards which themselves play a part in the game. The document envisages a more than 35-percent increase of the mutual turnover of goods exchange. Together with the agreements concluded in the sphere of capital investments, this will contribute toward resolving a number of common tasks in the two economies.

[Komarek] Comrade Deputy Chairman, can you specify in greater detail the intentions and demands of the signed protocol?

[Jiravy] Naturally. However, one must bear in mind the basic, general features: the document signed by us determines the strategic directions and goals which are to be achieved in the economic and scientific-technical

cooperation. In preparing it we concentrated on making the goals as high as possible, but simultaneously realistic.

The role of science and technology will be considerably enhanced in the orientation of Czechoslovak investment deliveries to the Republic of Cuba. The CSSR will participate in the further construction of large projects of the power industry on the Island of Freedom, specifically in the construction of the Felton electric power station, and in completing the construction of the electric power plant in Nuevitas; our experience in the construction of pumped-storage hydropower plants will also be utilized. We will also assist Cuba in developing the pivotal Cuban economic branch, namely the sugar refinery industry; and we will also deliver machinery for developing the citrus program. Our equipment will contribute toward modernizing production in the glass, footwear, and extraction industries, too. Our deliveries of equipment for in-depth sugar refining and our assistance in introducing small hydropower stations into the economy should also fully fit in with the modern trends.

[Komarek] Let us turn our attention to the trade exchange. What will we import from Cuba, what will we export there?

[Jiravy] The CSSR's basic export branch for the Republic of Cuba is engineering, which accounts for almost two-thirds of all our deliveries. We will be exporting trucks, in various modifications; and also machine tools; instruments; tractors; fork-lifts; motorcycles; machinery for the printing industry; and many other engineering products. A certain place in the exports is held by the computer technology, from punched card readers to floppy disks, and naturally also by the products of the chemical industry and a vast range of products for everyday consumption, such as for instance mixers, kitchen ware, or photographic paper. Were we to mention every individual product, we would probably need the whole newspaper for the list, because it includes 116 items from various branches.

As before imports from Cuba will mostly consist of raw materials and other materials, particularly foodstuffs. Apart from raw sugar we will be importing about 40,000-60,000 tons of fresh citrus fruit annually; for our consumers this represents a substantial contribution to their vitamin needs. Our industry will be receiving not insignificant deliveries of chromium ore, copper concentrate, and nickel. The imports of citrus fruit concentrate will be increased; this should particularly contribute toward the very desirable variety in nonalcoholic beverages. The tons of molasses which will be brought to the CSSR from Cuba are also important, as are marble blocks and paving tiles. Such items as coffee and tobacco are also included in the list; and certain products of the consumer industry are also certain to gradually be a part of the exchange.

The support granted to the development of direct cooperation between the Ministries of Domestic Trade of the two countries is new.

[Komarek] Does the protocol contain plans for developing direct cooperation?

[Jiravy] Despite certain specific results in this sphere, the decisive steps are still ahead of us. In preparing the protocol we discussed many suggestions, some of them quite specific, others perhaps only in the shape of good ideas. At the present stage, cooperation and collaboration seem most realistic in the production of front-end loaders, hydraulic face jacks, brake systems, and medical equipment, in certain spheres of electronics and in the development of the production of knitted underwear.

[Komarek] The 10th session of the Czechoslovak-Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation was held in Havana on 9-12 October. What were the results?

[Jiravy] Like the work on the protocol, the session's work was very successfully concluded. We appraised the fulfillment of mutually adopted commitments in the development of the power industry, in engineering, pharmacy, in geology work, in the ensurance of agreements on good exchange, and in the specific elaboration of plans for imports of construction work from Cuba. We discussed the elaboration of conclusions from plan coordination in the period 1986-90, and prospects up to the year 2000. We also finally resolved a number of operational issues, such as that of installing small hydropower stations in Cuba, the issue of deliveries of spare parts for sugar refineries, or a better utilization of natural desposits and increased deliveries of molasses to the CSSR--this will improve our fodder balance in the first quarter of 1987.

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**DAILY PRAISES BELORUSSIAN CONSTRUCTION EXPERIMENT**

AU091202 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by PRAVDA staff journalist Milan Zelenay: "On a Get-Together by Ranking Personnel Devoted to the Belorussian Experiment; There Are Many Questions But Only One Objective"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (our staff journalist Milan Zelenay)--And what is the situation with regard to the price of input construction materials? That one, too, cannot be amended in the course of the entire 5 years, just as is the case with the contractually fixed price of a project? And what is the situation as regards the powers and responsibilities of construction enterprises? Can they refuse to incorporate additional projects in their production program if they have a backlog of work on unfinished projects for years to come? And what about the construction of planned projects for which documentation has not been prepared on time? Do they remain on the builders' shoulders?

A series of such and similar blunt questions were asked by ranking personnel of construction, planning, and investors' organizations at a get-together with members of a government delegation of the Belorussian SSR, held yesterday. In contrast to what we have been used to until recently--that working visits by foreign delegations were, more or less, of a festive nature--yesterday's meeting only affirmed how useful a genuinely working exchange of experience is. True, one could figure out how to organize similar meetings, how many personnel to invite to them, how to familiarize them with problems in advance, so that the exchange of experience would make the most meaningful use of time. All this can be perfected in the future, but the essential thing is to strengthen the spirit which prevailed also in the Institute of Construction Education [Ustav vzdelania v stavebnictve] in Bratislava yesterday. Because no matter how varied and direct the questions were, the head of the delegation, Yuriy Publikov, chairman of the State Committee for Construction of the Belorussian SSR, and its other members answered them in a direct and well-informed manner. Therefore this meeting was interesting already because of its form, although--understandably--it was its content that was of decisive importance.

After all, the issues pertaining to the principles and results of the Belorussian experiment concern as it were our national economic

bread-and-butter in a key and sore sphere--in capital construction. We spend more than a quarter of our national income on it. However, a disproportionate number of unfinished projects and the exceeding of construction deadlines by 30 percent on average transform a part of these resources--figuratively speaking--into a dry tree that bears no fruit. Other things have gone wrong. There are frequently problems regarding the observance of projects' budgeted costs and, until recently, economic rules downright dictated suppliers to use as expensive materials as possible, and planners to chose the costliest possible solutions for construction projects.

The solution of precisely these shortcomings has found expression in the comprehensive economic experiment, which--following the experience gained in the past 5-year period, as we have already written in PRAVDA--the Belorussian builders started implementing in 1982. The experiment has now been concluded. Its principles have become the outline for perfecting the entire system of the management of the construction-industrial complex. As of 1987, it will begin to be implemented in the Soviet construction industry.

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## TALKS WITH WORKERS PARTY OF ETHIOPIA CONCLUDE

AU181407 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 86 p 1

[Report by Josef Nyvlt: "Mengistu Haile Mariam Received Milos Jakes; The CPCZ's Delegation's Talks In Addis Ababa Concluded"]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa (our special correspondent)--The CPCZ delegation, headed by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, concluded its talks with representatives of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] on Monday [8 December]. At the end of the talks, the delegation met with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of WPE, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Socialist Ethiopia.

Milos Jakes and Mengistu Haile Mariam voiced full support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, expressed, above all, in the initiative and constructive proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev, the highest Soviet representative. They also valued and expressed support for the anti-imperialist policy of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. The two representatives categorically condemned the aggression of the South African regime against African countries and the terror against the population of the Republic of South Africa, as well as the forces which support the racist regime. They also expressed bilateral solidarity with forces which actively oppose such a source.

A plan for cooperation between the CPCZ and the WPE for the 1987-88 was signed in the building of the Central Committee of the WPE in the afternoon of the same day. The document, which will contribute to further strengthening and expanding the relations between the two parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was signed by Comrades Milos Jakes and Ashagre Yigletu, secretary for foreign relations of the Central Committee of the WPE.

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**JAKES MEETS MOZAMBIQUE'S PRESIDENT, PREMIER**

**LD101737 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 10 Dec 86**

[Text] Maputo, 10 Dec (CTK correspondent)--A Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation, led by Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Milos Jakes, was received here today, the second day of its friendly working visit to Mozambique, by chairman of the Frelimo Party and Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano.

Both sides positively evaluated the present state of cooperation between the two fraternal parties and friendly countries, and voiced their interest in further extension of bilateral relations to the benefit of the nations of Czechoslovakia and Mozambique.

Milos Jakes and Joaquim Alberto Chissano resolutely condemned the main cause of the difficulties in Mozambique--the raging of counter-revolutionary bands supported by the South African racist regime and other forces of world imperialism.

Milos Jakes voiced full solidarity of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and all Czechoslovak people with the resistance of Mozambique and other African front-line states against the aggression of the Republic of South Africa.

Both representatives unanimously supported the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Later in the day, talks between the delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by Milos Jakes, and the delegation of the Frelimo Party, led by Politburo member and Central Committee secretary and Mozambican Premier Mario Machungo, took place in Maputo.

Milos Jakes and Mario Machungo signed a new agreement on cooperation between the two parties and a protocol to this agreement.

Both delegations discussed a wide range of questions concerning Czechoslovak-Mozambican relations based on 24 various agreements and pointed out concrete ways to their further extension, mainly in economic and trade cooperation considerably helps strengthen Mozambique's state independence.

**Czechoslovak and Mozambican health ministers Jaroslav Prokop and Pascoal  
Manuel Mocumbi signed here today a 2-year inter-governmental plan of  
cooperation in health care.**

**The Czechoslovak delegation conveyed as an internationalist present a shipment  
of textiles and medicaments to representatives of the Frelimo Party.**

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**CSO: 2400/102**

## NEW 'PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT' FOR COUNTRY'S SCIENCE

AU151549 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 86 p 1

[Report by Michal Strida: "A Programmatic Document of Czechoslovak Science; 50th General Assembly of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences"]

[Excerpts] Prague--The 50th anniversary general assembly of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV] was held in the Karolinum in Prague on Thursday [11 December]. It discussed a basic programmatic document of our science--the "Program of the Development and Application of Czechoslovak Science Under the Conditions of the CSAV and the Slovak Academy of Sciences in the 8th 5-Year Plan, With An Outlook Up to the Year 2000." The document, which has been worked out by CSAV agencies, is based on the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and itemizes the tasks of the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000" for basic research. The session was attended by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Miloslav Dockal, head of the CPCZ Central Committee Education and Science Department.

The session was opened by CSAV Chairman Josef Riman.

Academician Stanislav Kubic, CSAV scientific secretary, then acquainted the participants in the general assembly with the CSAV's part in the fulfillment of the tasks of the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000."

He said that the CSAV participates in the fulfillment of 42 main tasks of the comprehensive program and that in 9 instances the CSAV's workplaces are the main organizers and coordinators of research. A total of 19 percent of the CSAV's research capacities, 26 percent of its noninvestment resources, and 47 percent of foreign exchange resources are concentrated on the solution of the comprehensive program. This clearly proves that cooperation within the framework of the comprehensive program is not perceived as a duty but as a chance permitting us, and the other countries, to achieve the highest world level in traditional scientific fields.

Within the framework of the comprehensive program, the CSAV will take part in the creation of a new generation of computing systems, including the systems for their automated design, the formation of computer networks, and the

provision of software for the new-generation computers, as well as in the development of optical wave guides for the transmission of information.

Together with Soviet partners we cooperate in the development of lasers and their application for technological and metrological [metrologicky] purposes, which will have a favorable impact on the engineering-metallurgy complex. The CSAV will also take a significant part in the research and subsequent development of plasma technologies, including the development of the necessary equipment and materials.

Extraordinary is the CSAV's participation in the development of biotechnologies, notably in the development of new methods of gene and cell engineering, which will be used in developing new types of plants and in protecting them and regulating their growth. Biotechnological methods will also be worked out for livestock production, notably for the diagnosis and prevention of animal diseases. Tasks aimed at increasing the nutrient value of feed by means of new technologies of feed production will also be the subject of research. Our basic research will also focus on the acquisition of new drugs and diagnostic devices for health care by utilizing biotechnological processes. A contribution to the protection of the environment will be made by the use of biotechnology in new methods of treating sewage water and industrial and city waste.

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## DAILY ON NATION'S PART IN JOINT KAZAKHSTAN BUILDING PROJECT

AU181749 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 86 pp 1, 7

[Aksay dispatch by special correspondent Miloslav Vltavsky: "Karachaganak Is Also Our Project; We Are Co-Building the Uralsk Gas Complex"]

[Excerpts] Aksay, Kazakh SSR--In the Kazakh city of Aksay, which is a couple of hours by car from the Orenburg airfield, Czech and Slovak are spoken more and more often. The first Czechoslovak builders moved here about half a year ago to start building in the steppe a project that will go down in our memory under the name of Karachaganak.

A lot of work has been done here in these 6 months--this is confirmed by all experts who arrive here. More than 500 Czechoslovaks have already settled here. Within 9 months, the number of our builders will increase sevenfold and even that will not be the final figure. In subsequent years, there will be a staff of some 6,000 [Czechoslovaks], who should build a project which, by the magnitude of the work involved, is comparable to the construction of nuclear power stations in our country.

The speed of housing construction and the opening up of one of the richest gas fields in the Soviet Union, which will yield in the coming years up to 45 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually, are closely connected. That is also why the speed of our work must be unusual. It will be a speed to which we are no longer accustomed at the great majority of building projects in Czechoslovakia. Dedication, which can be encountered everywhere here, is the basic prerequisite of overcoming different conditions and the teething troubles of the initial stages of construction.

Despite this dedication, not everything is working to full satisfaction. Despite the good and very fast speed of work and the probability of fulfilling and possibly even exceeding the annual plan, one is not completely satisfied with the course of construction. As early as next year, the volume of work should be close to Kcs900 million and in 1988 it should exceed Kcs1.5 billion. Such a rapid construction start is without precedent even at the largest projects in Czechoslovakia.

All organizers of construction should constantly call to mind these figures. The argument that there is no blueprint although it should have already been

ready does not hold water in the steppe behind Aksay. Harping on this argument will solve nothing and nothing will be built out of excuses. That is why the possibility is being considered of dealing with lacunae by setting up a joint designing office either in Moscow or in Karachaganak.

There is also room for improvement with regard to the cooperation between the main contractor and the representative of the Simex foreign trade enterprise. Although its activity has recently improved considerably, it is still not up to requirements. This is also borne out by the replacement of the leading Simex representative in Aksay. The foreign trade enterprise is assuming a number of responsibilities, including some in the USSR, and must therefore be in the front ranks of all goings-on at the building site.

Whereas until now the main driving force has been the gigantic endeavor of the people and their dedication, in the subsequent period it will be necessary to steer many processes at a far higher level. All due respect to the squads of wagon unloaders; even the fulfillment of the future tasks at Karachaganak will require such dedication. However, mere dedication without a change in the methods of material deliveries will not do. Moreover, it would be uneconomical.

/9599  
CSO: 2400/102

## NEW FORMAT FOR PARTY THEORETICAL MAGAZINE

AU290506 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 86 p 4

[Unsigned report: "New Format for TEORIE SOCIALISMU Magazine"]

[Text] The scientific-technical magazine of the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee in Prague and in Bratislava, entitled TEORIE SOCIALISMU [Theory of Socialism], will be published in a new format as of January 1987.

On its 150 pages it will carry, six times a year, the partial results of scientific-research work accomplished by collectives and by individuals in the two institutes. The magazine will also be open to authors working in party and state agencies, in the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences, and at university-level schools. The magazine is primarily oriented toward the interdisciplinary study of the CPCZ's history, of the theory of the practical building of developed socialism and of the history and present state of the world revolutionary process. The magazine's mission is to enable and to stimulate the exchange of views in a scientific discussion from the positions of Marxism-Leninism particularly in developing theoretical work in the sphere of social sciences and in drafting theoretical foundations of the party's ideological work.

If the new magazine can help you in your work, you can order it now from the postal periodicals' delivery service.

/9599  
CSO: 2400/102

## POLLUTION IN SLOVAKIA NOT RECEDING

AU010506 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Nov 86 p 2

[Commentary by Anna Zimaniova in the "We Comment" column: "More Seriousness and Responsibility in Practice"]

[Excerpts] In the first half of this year, the Committee of the People's Control in the Slovak SR oriented its work, among other things, toward checking on the timely preparation and smooth ensurance of work on sewage disposal plants under construction and at sites where construction is merely beginning, as well as checking on the enhanced efficiency of sewage treatment plants already in operation. The checks were made on 18 selected organizations in industry, in construction, agriculture and food, and water and economy forestry enterprises, and also on enterprises of the water works and drainage sector which act as investors and operators of city sewage disposal plants (COV's).

The checks confirmed that the pollution of waterways had not stopped by the end of last year. A new and alarming phenomenon is that the increased amounts of pollution in the past 5-year period were due (apart from organizations belonging to the agricultural and food sector in the Slovak SR) particularly to waste waters from the city agglomerations. Last year they accounted for more than 50 percent of pollution in waste waters. In view of the long-term, systematic lag between the construction of city COV's and the construction of housing settlements, this was only to be expected. A basic share of the blame for this state of affairs falls on the planning agencies and their continued lack of respect for the legal principle (water law No 138/1973) according to which the construction of COV's must be thoroughly ensured in parallel with the development of industrial and housing construction.

The check also pointed out other alarming circumstances. Two-thirds of the 85 COV's built during the last 15 years are incapable of achieving the purification set down in the blueprint, because quite soon after completion they became overloaded. Almost all city COV's are fighting the problem of sewage sludge. Serious shortcomings were also ascertained in the realization of tasks set for this sphere in the 8th 5-Year Plan. Side by side with the four construction projects under the economic management of the Government of the Slovak SR, which are to be started this year, the preparation of blueprints, for projects which are to begin in 1987 is lagging. The initial [uvodne]

blueprints for 4 out of 10 of these construction projects had not been approved by the end of July. The situation is similar in the group of construction projects where work is to start in 1988, since the project tasks have been approved for only two of the total of seven.

The sector of the Ministry of Industry in the Slovak SR is counting on starting work on 13 construction projects in the 8th 5-Year Plan. Eight of them should be started in 1986-88. In five of them shortcomings were found which make it necessary to postpone the beginning of construction work. In 1987, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food had to ensure the beginning of construction work on two of the five projects planned for the 8th 5-Year Plan. The failure to prepare blueprints for the project makes it necessary to postpone it. According to the plan, the investment sector of the Regional National Committee and the National Committee of Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak SR, was to have started building 15 COV's. For various reasons, mainly because of the failure to prepare blueprints and investment conditions, and also because of the regulation of the number of uncompleted construction projects, in 1986-87 they will start building only the COV in the Petrzalka part of Bratislava, although resolution No 335/1974 of the Government of the Slovak SR stipulated that this COV should start operating in 1983!

The sad knowledge acquired by the inspection also includes the increasing number of water pollution accidents, and the many exceptions granted for the discharge of waste waters contrary to the stipulations of the water law. Although the number of exceptions has recently been cut down very considerably, this does nothing to change the fact that during the entire period of the validity of their exception, the polluters failed to establish conditions for discharging waters otherwise, that means in harmony with the water law; or else they had no possibility to do this. Only about 28 percent of the polluters succeeded--and since this amounts to merely 138 polluters, it is truly very little. The rest repeatedly apply for exemption, their last resort in water law No 138/1973...

What we need is substantially higher discipline in planning--in the management process for ensuring the COV projects from blueprint to realization, and also during their commissioning and operation.

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CSO: 2400/102

**FOUR SENTENCED FOR HOOLIGANISM**

**AU020535 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 November 1986 on page 3 carries a 1,700-word Vaclav Pergl article entitled "Pondering the Case of Young People Sentenced for the Propagation of Fascism. They Are Guilty; But Only They?"**

Pergl begins his article by noting that four young people had been subject to trial proceedings in Beroun within a fortnight. The first two--both 17-year-old youths from Prague and Rychnov nad Kneznou--had been handed down suspended sentences for hooliganism after being apprehended on 1 May by citizens in Osov, in the Beroun area, for having destroyed the May Day decoration there while under the influence of alcohol. One of them wore a "broad belt with a large swastika with the inscription God with us" (printed in German).

A few days later, Pergl continues, Jan Kubik, 23, employee of the CEMA cement works in Beroun, and Jiri Vyskocil, 20 employee of the record pressing plant in Lodenice, were sentenced to jail terms of 1 and 2 years respectively for the "criminal offenses of damaging property in social ownership and for supporting and propagating fascism and a similar movement." Neither has begun serving their sentences.

Pergl says that, in July in Lodenice, in the Beroun area, Kubik and Vyskocil, both intoxicated, were charged with having torn out the flower decoration in front of the Jan Hus memorial, which they "arranged in a large circle, in the center of which they put beer bottles in the shape of the symbol of fascism--a swastika."

The two culprits were ordered to undergo detoxification treatment and pay for damages.

In the remainder of the article Pergl ponders the cause of such behavior.

/9599  
CSO: 2400/102

## DOCTOR CRITICIZES STATE FOR SELLING ALCOHOL

AU170848 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Medicine Jan Cimicky, candidate of sciences: "Straight Talk About Drinking; Not Only Health Workers Must Combat the Ever-Increasing Danger of Alcohol"]

[Excerpts] The statistic says that in Czechoslovakia about 12 percent of the population are teetotalers, 65 percent drink alcoholic beverages irregularly, and 23 percent--practically one-fourth of the nation--consumes alcohol; in our country mostly beer, understandably. According to a long-term observation, the consumption of pure alcohol in our country has been increasing and amounts to about 10 liters per inhabitant per year, children included!

However, it is necessary to note quite openly that the struggle against the increasing alcoholism, against alcohol as a drug, is not adequate. Let us have a look at why alcohol is still being sold at railroad stations and on transportation in general. Let us have a look at what space in the shopwindows of fine food stores is taken precisely by bottles of alcoholic beverages! In the trade itself there still exist the material interest in selling alcohol. Lifting a warning finger on the one hand, and a conscious propagation and the material interest of the state trade in selling alcohol on the other hand, lead to the reduction in the effectiveness of real alcoholism prevention.

The sale of alcohol account for almost 30 percent of the retail trade turnover and almost Kcs10 million are being spent on alcoholic beverages in our country annually! This certainly makes one think. Social tolerance, one might even say indifference, toward frequent and even actual regular drinking of alcohol, is immense in our country. This, perhaps, is the real origin of alcoholism, also among the young.

Our findings show that children have their first experience with drinking already at a very early age, when parents give them alcohol "to taste" and "at celebrations." From here is not far to a drinking group of juveniles, in which a young person spends the greatest part of his free time, which cannot be controlled by parents. Surveys show that only half of the 15-year olds don't drink. One-third of them say they drink only beer or wine, and about 14 percent occasionally add to these two beverages "something stronger."

Among the 17 to 18-year olds only 17 percent don't drink, 37 percent drink beer, and about a half consume all types of alcoholic drinks, including distillates. All this leads to serious social consequences.

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CSO: 2400/102

**BRIEFS**

**SOVIET TV RECEPTION**--On 26 November in Prague, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the start of broadcasting of the first channel of Central USSR Television in Czechoslovakia, Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, handed over "letters of recognition of the USSR Ministry of Communications" to Jiri Jira, CSSR minister of communications, and other officials who significantly contributed to the reception of the signal of Soviet television in the CSSR. Viktor Lomakin emphasized the importance of the reception of Soviet television, which allows the Czechoslovak working people to become better acquainted with the implementation of the conclusions of the historic 27th CPSU Congress, with the Soviet reality, and with the processes taking place in the USSR at present. Jiri Jira said, among other things, that Czechoslovak transmitters currently relay the signal of Soviet television for 3 million Czechoslovak viewers. This number should increase to 4.5 million by 1990. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /9599

CSO: 2400/102

**GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN OFFICE IN LINE WITH NEW PRESS LAW**

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 30 Nov 86 p 21

[Interview with Government Spokesman Rezso Banyasz by Ferenc Varnai: "Spokesman, Not a Magician"]

[Text] For several weeks now, television viewers, radio listeners and readers of the press have noticed that a spokesman has been speaking for the Hungarian government. Our correspondent went to see Rezso Banyasz, our government's 56-year-old, multilingual, former journalist and diplomat spokesman whose educational background includes a law degree and a candidate's degree in historical studies, and asked him for an interview for the readers of MAGYARORSZAG.

**Why at This Particular Time?**

[Question] Why was this institution set up at this particular time?

[Answer] The establishment and use of the institution of government spokesman is in accordance with the guidelines reiterated at the 13th Congress of the MSZMP for broadening our socialist democracy. One of the important manifestations of this year has been the framing of the new press law. According to the law the public must be more thoroughly informed, and every institution is required to provide specific and regular information to their constituents about their plans and activities. This obligation naturally also applies to the government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

[Question] Are we not simply beginning to copy the practice of other countries?

[Answer] The answer is a definite no. We are not copying any foreign model. In Poland, for example, a serious political crisis had led to the establishment of the institution of government spokesman, a position which--as the Hungarian public has been able to see for itself on a number of

occasions--has been filled responsibly, and let me add masterfully, by Jerzy Urban. He speaks sincerely and openly even about the many difficult problems that face Polish society. But in addressing the need to broaden democracy, other socialist countries have also introduced or plan to introduce the institution of government spokesman.

As far as the Hungarian government is concerned, it intends to use this channel of information also in accordance with our country's peculiar characteristics. The duty of the Hungarian government's spokesman is to help, more thoroughly and more effectively than before, to involve Hungarian public opinion in the plans and practical work of state administration. It is true that with more or less regularity the Chairman of the Government Information Office also used to inform representatives of the Hungarian press about the work of the Council of Ministers. The government spokesman, however,--even though the questions are usually put to him by the members of the press, radio and television--serves as a direct channel between the government and the people which, of course, continues to be augmented by various other conduits of information.

The existence of a government spokesman naturally does not preclude nor can it replace the reports given with similar regularity by the leaders of our various ministries, higher authorities, mass organizations and movements. Speaking openly about our joys and difficulties and speaking frankly about how our government views these issues can only be a boost to a policy of consensus that rests on socialist democracy. Such an attitude can only help in enabling wide segments of our society to think about the problems discussed and in helping us search collectively and jointly for the best possible solution.

[Question] Is it not just that our problems have become more serious, and that perhaps this is why we needed a "visible scapegoat?"

[Answer] Even if we had fewer problems, the situation would be ripe for establishing this institution. Of course, since he passes on information in the name of the government, and because he must also answer sensitive questions that might contain criticism, the government spokesman has increased responsibilities. Someone who represents the policy of the government out of conviction, however, must not only be ready to relay the news that are positive; they must also openly speak about our difficulties and problems.

The "Visible Scapegoat?"

Just so that I do not limit myself to generalities: I myself would like to have more opportunities to speak with

satisfaction, for example, about the fact that socialism is the society of labor. However, presently there are still many who violate even the basic norms of socialist work discipline, who live on others and grow rich without work, at the expense of others. Yet the great majority of the population rightfully expects our government and leadership to insist on upholding our socialist norms at all levels and not to tolerate idler and parasitic life styles.

[Question] How do you prepare for performing the tasks of a spokesman?

[Answer] First of all, I have been greatly helped by the fact that I am a regular participant in the meetings of the Council of Ministers. I have access to all the materials available to the ministers, and I also get a lot of information from the apparatus of the MSZMP Central Committee. I have an opportunity to consult directly with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or the Central Committee secretary responsible for a given issue regarding the answers to some of the more complex questions. I often solicit the opinion of experts and state officials who are well-versed in the given subject. I get all the bulletins received by the Hungarian Telegraph Agency, and I read many domestic and foreign periodicals. Sometimes it is the abundance of information that can cause problems.

[Question] On a number of occasions, television viewers have noticed that at the spokesman's briefing you were using notes to answer questions from the floor.

[Answer] They were not mistaken, and I think that occasionally they will see this recur in the future. The reason for this is that many of my journalist colleagues call ahead by telephone or by other means to let me know that they want to ask a question about a given topic at my next briefing. I and my colleagues are happy to receive such advance notices as they make it easier for us to become prepared. They allow us to compile the data and facts pertaining to the issue and obtain information from the persons involved. Without such preparation sometimes it would be very difficult to give reliable and responsible answers.

Incidentally, my well-known foreign colleagues--such as the earlier mentioned Jerzy Urban--also read most of what they have to say. Not to mention White House spokesman Larry Speakes, for example, who speaks exclusively from notes. After our governmental sessions--with the help of my colleagues--we prepare notes about the issues on the agenda which again I do not report from memory. The spokesman is not a magician who can keep every piece of data in his head. Nor

would it be responsible on his part to start listing the facts from memory although, I admit, that would look more elegant.

#### The Use of Notes

I should also tell you that we have more and more everyday citizens writing to us or calling us with their questions. These have included several topics that deserved a national forum. (In one instance, for example, we had a local parish priest writing to us about how happy he was that in accordance with the wishes of the late Cardinal Lekai, a charitable order had been established to care for the ill. A pensioner citizen, on the other hand, complained that I had spoken only about the housing problems of young people, neglecting the plight of the elderly. When I mentioned that housing construction should be given priority over "prestige constructions," we received letters in which the concerned writers expressed their hope that the construction of the National Theater would not be relegated to the background. And I could continue citing further examples.)

[Question] What happens if, let us say, you cannot immediately answer a question put to you at a briefing?

[Answer] Naturally, that could also happen. I believe, however, that even if such a situation were to arise there would be nothing to be embarrassed about. I would either recommend that the journalist asking the question turn to the person in charge of that particular subject area, or reserve the right to be able to return to the issue at the next spokesman's briefing.

#### On the Right to Be Wrong

[Question] And what if you are wrong or your answer is inaccurate?

[Answer] The spokesman is also not infallible. Hence I believe that the standards set for him cannot be different from those established for others in responsible positions. If he errs, he should openly admit his mistake, and the sooner the better. The people we address should under no circumstances be left with a mistaken impression because of an incorrect piece of information. Anyway, my aim--as my assignment requires--is to provide people with honest, accurate and reliable information about the ideas and work of the Hungarian government.

[Question] Are there any plans for the future to have the spokesman speak not only to Hungarian but also to foreign journalists?

[Answer] Our plan is to make the institution of government spokesman accessible to all foreign journalists accredited to

the Hungarian People's Republic. After all, understandably, our domestic problems are also of interest to them. The possible ways in which this could be done are still under consideration. Perhaps the most useful way would be to brief them together with the Hungarian journalists. However, since on many domestic issues our journalists require more thorough and detailed answers, maybe we just would not invite the members of the foreign press quite as frequently to such briefings. They would be invited only to briefings where issues of international interest would be raised. After all, as far as the outside world is concerned, our tiny homeland does not attract nearly as frequent or as much interest as in our occasionally exaggerated national enthusiasm sometimes we would like to believe.

3379

CSO: 2500/94

## CHURCH COMMUNIQUES ON MILITARY SERVICE, DISARMAMENT

## Lutherans on Disarmament

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Nov 86 p 5

[Article: "General Conference of the Lutheran Church. Communique in Support of Peace and Security"]

[Text] On Thursday, the Hungarian Lutheran Church held a national conference which convenes every three years. The participants reviewed the situation of the Church and brought decisions concerning future tasks. In his report, Bishop Dr. Gyula Nagy also spoke about the activities of the Lutheran Church's and its efforts to promote peace at home as well as in the international arena. The national conference concluded with a communique on the issue of peace and security.

Among other things, the document points out that after the cold-war like tensions of the past few years, the summit meetings at Geneva and Reykjavik brought a glimmer of hope. Both meetings were followed with prayers on the part of churches and believers around the world. The World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation and the Christian World Conference have joined many other churches in welcoming and pledging their support for General Secretary Gorbachev's proposals concerning the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, a complete and permanent ban on the testing of nuclear weapons and the creation of a new, worldwide system of collective security.

The insistence by the United States on the militarization of space, however, has become a serious obstacle in the way of averting a world catastrophe. The Hungarian Lutheran Church, together with the other Hungarian churches, is using every means at its disposal to promote a future of peace for mankind by preaching the Gospel, praying, using the persuasive power of the good word, shaping public opinion and supporting peaceful negotiations. It welcomes and supports General

Secretary Gorbachev's proposals. It hopes that the sense of responsibility felt by all peoples, including the American people, will in the end prevent the renewed and fateful expansion of the arms race into space, stressed the communique.

#### Catholics on Conscientious Objectors

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 2 Nov 86 p 11

[Article: "Statement by the Hungarian Catholic Bench of Bishops on Military Service"]

[Text] Recently, the Hungarian Catholic Bench of Bishops has been the target of repeated, and often openly voiced accusations from mostly foreign but also domestic critics that it is unconcerned about the fate of those who for reasons of conscience refuse military service and thus become subject to punishment under the laws of our state. These charges also allege that the Bench of Bishops has not been acting in accordance with the tenets of the Second Vatican Council.

As in all other matters, on the question of compulsory military service, too, the Bench of Bishops adheres to the basic tenets of the Catholic Church and the Second Vatican Council. The social teachings of the Catholic Church acknowledge that it is the right and duty of the state to defend its homeland, to serve the welfare of its citizens, and to ensure public safety and the preservation of national and moral values. At the same time, it has the right to require that its citizens do everything they can to carry out, defend and live up to their share of the collective rights and obligations. Included among these is military service.

The question of military service was considered important enough by the Second Vatican Council to address it in its [closing] document, entitled "The Church in Today's World" (Gaudium et Spes). Point 79 of this document reads as follows: "War still has not been eliminated from this world. As long as the danger of war continues to exist, and there is no international authority entrusted and properly empowered with the means to prevent it, governments cannot be denied the right to just self-defense, provided that they have exhausted every recourse to a peaceful agreement. It is, therefore, the duty of state leaders and all those who share in the responsibility of public administration to protect the vital interests of their peoples, and they must be serious when considering such serious matters." It follows from the Council's teaching that the duty to perform military service can neither be refused nor condemned.

The same passage states the following about those who perform military service: "Those who serve their countries as soldiers should consider themselves nothing more than people who

safeguard the security and peace of their peoples. If they serve in this spirit they will contribute to the strengthening of peace." Given the proper conditions, military service in this form, according to the teaching of the Council, may be a good thing. This means that the primary aim of such service must be to ensure security, the freedom of peoples and the strengthening of peace, in other words, just self-defense instead of the subjugation of other nations. All of this is implied in the obligation to love and defend one's homeland.

The bloody wars and human sacrifices of the current century have aroused an enormous desire for peace on the part of the young generation that wants to rid itself of all wars, hence for reasons of conscience some have denied military service. The synodic document addresses such cases as well: "It appears reasonable, furthermore, to expect laws to be understanding toward those who for reasons of conscience refuse to take up arms, but are ready to serve the mankind in some peaceful manner."

The determination and organization of specific tasks aimed at protecting the homeland is the duty of the state not the church. According to the constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic it is the duty of every citizen to defend his homeland. The discussions that have been held so far have also confirmed that in our country military service is aimed at defending the homeland, preserving the peace and ensuring public safety.

The fear of a military conflict, however, has made it the duty and obligation of all men of good will to use every available legal means for ensuring and preserving the peace. We can all rejoice that despite all the tensions Europe has not seen a war in 40 years. For the most part, this has been due to our peoples' desire for peace and the prudence of responsible leaders. The faithful of the Catholic Church must also remember their unique obligation to earn peace through prayer and propitiation to God. We believe that peace is God's great gift which requires devotion on the part of everyone to be realized. This is the message of this year of peace, and this is the message of the Holy Father who has called on the representatives of every religion in the world to join in a collective prayer. Let us open up our hearts, and with constant prayer and sacrifice let us echo the invocation of the holy mass: "Behold the lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; give us peace."

Budapest, 17 October 1986.  
The Hungarian Catholic Bench of Bishops

9327  
CSO:2500/91

CARTOON COMMENTARY ON FRATERNAL TIES

Budapest LUDAS MATYI in Hungarian 26 Nov 86 p 4

[Cartoons]



One should get a hazardous pay supplement  
during flu season for cordial fraternal  
farewells.

The story of the Hungarian National Railways



Mama, don't even utter such words, that the friendship train is late!



Long live November 7!

Title page editorializing, oh....  
(Mrs Sandor Kalinovits discovered this  
on the title page of the PESTI MUSOR  
(weekly guide to the arts))

/9365  
CSO: 2500/103

## SOVIET 'INDIVIDUAL LABOR' LAW EXAMINED

AU020940 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Nov 86 p 5

[Commentary by "permanent correspondent" Andrzej Bajorek: "To Do and To Earn"]

[Excerpts] The "law on individual labor" passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 19 November 1986 means that there will be a third sector in the Soviet economy—alongside the two sectors that have existed hitherto (the state and cooperative sectors)—a trades and services sector in which work will be performed in return for payment.

Of course the Polish reader—by drawing an analogy with the situation in our country—will immediately associate this with "private initiative." However, I believe that it is better to distinguish between these two terms (that is, individual labor and private initiative) in the Soviet context.

From the substantive point of view, the following description would probably be more accurate: a law on individual paid activity. This is precisely it, the activity is paid but is not—as some people inaccurately depict it—an occupation, because not every additional job performed by a citizen will be an occupation (for example, knitting or providing a "lift").

The law will come into force on 1 May 1987. This rather long delay, one of almost half a year, is necessary to enable the state and economic administration to prepare for the performance of tasks dictated by the law and for the psychological barrier to individual work that still exists here to be overcome.

Not everyone in Soviet society supports the existence of a private sector, even one with a narrow and limited scope. There are, I believe, several reasons for such objections: historical factors, a stronger belief in collective forms of labor, and the bad impression that many citizens have a fruit and vegetable market, where individual sellers and producers frequently exploit market shortages of fruits in order to push prices up. Thus, one hears it said that a similar situation will arise in the services sector as soon as the law comes into force. It will be difficult for the authorities to introduce normal criteria where there are serious shortages and to impose high quality requirements.

However, the solution envisaged in the law does create an opportunity for gaps in the services sector to be filled quickly and for the invigoration of this area of life in general. Several problems connected with this--if only possible friction at the points at which the private and socialized sectors meet, the balancing of incomes, and cadre transfers--will appear in Soviet practice for the first time. However, these possible difficulties have not constituted an obstacle to the law since the prevailing current has been one of effecting transformations in all areas of life and of believing that it is better to solve new problems than old ones.

/12913  
CSO: 2600/234

## SOVIET JOURNALISTS ON JABLONNA CONFERENCE

AU091211 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Dec 86 p 5

[Interview given by Tomas Kolesnichenko, PRAVDA journalist, and Professor Valentin Zorin, Moscow radio and television commentator, to Krystyna Szelestowska and Adam Stanek: "We Are Open To All Problems"--Warsaw, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What comes after Reykjavik? This is a question that is hanging over the world, and these days it is also hanging over the Jablonna conference of journalists from East and West. What do you think?

[Answer] The point, says Tomas Kolesnichenko, is that this is the first time that we have adopted such a position. No one would have thought it possible before. We decided that our world should be completely free of nuclear weapons before the end of this century. The fact that we have come out with such proposals--an approach which I would call a Soviet approach or a Gorbachev approach--means that we have tackled a supreme issue.

What to do next? Most important of all, make sure that what was said in Reykjavik does not sink beneath a quagmire of talks and be revoked. Attempts at revision are very dangerous. It is necessary to put a stop to this.

[Question] There was no shortage of such healthy-thinking journalists as you at our meeting, which seems to have been very useful. And yet someone in Jablonna said that talks like this lead nowhere.

[Answer] Oh no, T. Kolesnichenko protested. This is the first time I have taken part in such a journalists' meeting, and I am proud that journalists have the possibility of discussing professional matters and sharing their views on international topics at the same time. This is a very important meeting. The fact that it is taking place right now and gathers so many journalists from all over the world illustrates the continuity of the Jablonna tradition and the importance of the profession of journalist. Someone once called journalists the sixth great world power. These days, Jablonna is the capital of this power.

However, one cannot avoid discussing criticism and self-criticism, to which we are now growing accustomed in our country.

I am surprised by journalists who avoid sharp discussion. When we spoke about Reykjavik with a greater degree of emotion, people accused us of exerting pressure. And yet we also quarrel, and I do not agree with Zorin on everything. It is interesting that we too used to be afraid of difficult questions; they were often described as "provocative." But now we are open to all problems and have nothing to hide.

[Question] We have discussed international topics so far, but the transformations in the Soviet Union are also an important part of the world situation. What have you to say about the new reality in your country?

[Answer] Exactly; the new reality in the Soviet Union. My life, explains T. Kolesnichenko, has been such that I am a bigger specialist in American economic affairs than in Soviet ones. I occupy myself with America. But what is happening in our country right now interests me very much, both as a Soviet citizen and from an international angle. We are using such terms as "restructuring" and "acceleration," but we mean a transition to a new era of scientific-technological revolution. We relate all our plans, economic, spiritual, and political, to tasks in the sphere of scientific-technological revolution.

We have revealed the fact that we are far behind in certain spheres, and that here and there it is necessary to alter the economic relations within our society. Let us say openly that our forces of production have not always matched the relations governing production in recent times. And yet this is a question of the law of political economics. The scientific-technological revolution is giving birth to new laws, and these must be faced. All this can be expressed in a single word, which many people think we do not like, whereas in fact we like it very much.

That word is democracy. We have in mind the democratization of production, the democratization of relations--not just economic ones, but social ones as well--and concern for greater social justice and creativity, without which one cannot perform scientific-technological tasks. In other words, the point is to reveal all the spiritual, physical, and other forces inherent in man. Perhaps my colleague Professor Zorin will say something about the reforms we are presently carrying out. We are analyzing our own experiences and those of Poland and Hungary. I repeat that on the basis of democracy we are trying to develop an approach which suits the tasks of developed socialism at the stage of the scientific-technological revolution in our country.

[Question] We also observe this approach in your foreign and domestic policy. It is no coincidence.

[Answer] The Marxist thesis about the link between foreign and domestic policy is well known, Professor Valentin Zorin says. The Soviet proposals in Reykjavik would have been impossible without the processes that are going on in the Soviet Union. This is a process that is indivisible and--I am not afraid of saying so--revolutionary. The changes in the USSR are of a revolutionary nature. An answer to emerging problems was first provided by the April 1985 plenum, and then by the 27th CPSU Congress, whose resolution we are now expounding.

I have the impression that outside our country, far from everyone is aware of the extent and tempo of our changes. People have the impression that we are waging just another campaign.

I would call the era behind us a period of eroding words and devaluing ideas. We often bandied about loud words, quoted great historical experience, and played it down. The fact that some people do not believe what we are saying today is no cause for offense. Our reaction is calm, because we know that what we have planned will speak for itself. And both our people and world society will convince themselves that this time there are no empty words, but instead, great plans which will spur our country's socialist development.

We realize that far from everyone in our society is ready to give up the easy life and start working afresh. We know about these difficulties and are very displeased with those who are already sounding fanfares now. There are those who would merely like to utter words instead of performing deeds.

There is a long and difficult road ahead of us. We will search for many solutions. But, most of all, this will be a road of socialist development in our country. Perhaps in our search we will find features of advantage both to us and to the fraternal parties in other countries, just as we perceive positive features in their experience. We do not intend to reveal the absolute truths of Marxism and socialism.

We hope that these very difficult tasks will be achieved. This will be one contribution toward a victory of socialism, not by empty words but concrete deeds.

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## PARTY DAILY ON ALBANIAN ACHIEVEMENTS

AU031258 Warsaw TRIBUNA LUDU in Polish 29-30 Nov 86 [no page given]

[Zbigniew Lesnikowski article: "Albania's National Day--42 Years After Liberation"]

[Text] The establishment of the Albanian Communist Party (the Albanian Workers Party since 1948) at the end of 1941 was soon followed by an extensive national liberation movement, which totaled some 70,000 soldiers at the end of the war. The struggle against the German and Italian occupiers continued to intensify with each passing day, and the final victory arrived on 29 November 1944 when Albania was finally liberated. The Albanians celebrate this date as their national day.

History has not been sympathetic to Albania, which was an area of foreign expansion from the very beginning. The country was governed for many centuries by the Romans, Turks, Venetians, Italians, Greeks, Austrians, and Germans, but the oppressors also included native feudalists, who cause the country's extreme backwardness. Before the war Albania lacked schools, hospitals, industries, roads, and transportation, and most of its inhabitants were shepherds. In 1939 Albania totaled over 600,000 illiterates, which was 75 percent of the population over 14. It was only after the war that this state of affairs began to change.

In close cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal countries (Poland established diplomatic relations with Albania as early as 6 November 1945) People's Albania began the great feat of eliminating war destruction, creating the foundations of industry, and radically changing social conditions.

This feat was to be stimulated by an accelerated development of production resources, especially of domestic deposits of oil, iron, chromium, copper, nickel, bauxite, and pyrite...

This ambitious task was to be accomplished by a country of just one million inhabitants. It was not until 1968 that the population of Albania, which is almost 12 times smaller than Poland, exceeded two million. Today Albania totals three million people and is one of the youngest countries in Europe. Every third Albanian is under 15. The average life span amounts to 71 years, which is one indication of progress.

The Albanian peoples can be justly proud of their achievements 42 years after their liberation. The Albanian have developed many new production sectors and, relying almost exclusively on their domestic resources, they have built from scratch some scores of food, textile, chemical, and engineering plants and have developed metallurgy, energy, and oil industries. Per capita income has increased fivefold during the people's rule and the area of farmland two and a half times. Today Albania is the second world exporter of chromium, sells about three million metric tons of crude oil, and is the only Balkan country that exports electric energy.

The 11th AWP Congress was an important event in Albania's life. This congress of the AWP, which totals almost 150,000 members, summed up the achievements of the previous five years and mapped out tasks for the new 5-Year period. These achievements were decidedly positive in many sectors of the economy: Since 1980 the social product increased 19 percent, industrial production 27 percent, and farm production 13 percent. "For over 10 years," AWP First Secretary Ramiz Alia stressed at the congress, "we have been self-sufficient in grain production, which is a historic achievement."

The coming 5-Year period promises to be productive, and national income is to increase 35-37 percent. In addition, Albania plans to assign 42 percent of investment outlays to industrial development in 1985-90. The 5-Year Plan provides for an 8-10 percent increase in productivity and for a 7-9 percent increase in per capital personal incomes. Exports are to increase 45 percent and farm production 36 percent.

Analyzing the congress tasks, observers have drawn attention to the fact that the congress documents on foreign policy state that it will be continued "along the proven principles." In connection with the AWP Congress, the Moscow PRAVDA commentator expressed their view that although, unfortunately, the congress confirmed Albania's negative position on relations with the USSR, the USSR continues its willingness to normalize these relations.

Many other countries of our community, including Poland, hold similar views. Poland is for increasing a mutually beneficial and comprehensive cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and continues to watch with great interest the consistent growth of Polish-Albanian trade, which will increase from R35 million this year to R46 million in 1987. In exchange for its mining and construction machines, energy equipment, cola, rolled goods, rolling stock, and so on Poland will receive Albanian citrus fruit, wine, cigarettes, cotton clothing, furs, asphalt, marble, timber, and so on.

Albania's intensified trade with foreign countries is one symptom of its animated contacts with the world, especially insofar as cooperation with its closest neighbors is concerned. For example, the first rail link with Yugoslavia and border crossings with Greece have been opened this year. Not long ago Albania signed an accord with the IAEA and established an air link with Zurich last May. Marko Xega, Albanian deputy minister of trade, has been to Warsaw this year, and Helmut Floeth, his Polish counterpart, has visited Tirana.

Albania's ever increasing participation in the international division of labor and the fact that it maintains contacts with 105 countries throughout the world help promote the interests of the Albanian people, who have treaded the road of socialist transformation for the past 42 years--ever since that memorable day of liberation.

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## FRENCH UNIONIST ON POLAND'S NEW UNIONS

AU021116 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Nov 86 pp 1, 2

[Interview with France's Joannes Galland, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, by Urszula Kozierowska: "Listening to the Workers"--date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kozierowska] Participation in the Warsaw union congress not only provides a picture of Polish affairs but also inclines one to draw more general conclusions?

[Galland] Yes. This truthfulness about the situation in your country, the difficulties that exist, the necessity of solving so many problems that are of importance for working people, great criticism and at the same time dignity were not only present in the speech delivered by Alfred Miodowicz but also in the speeches delivered by other speakers. France's General Confederation of Labor expressed--and not without opposition from many quarters--the conviction that after 1980-81 your country and Polish society would find a solution to concrete problems in a democratic way and within the framework of a socialist society. And the disappointment and bitterness, and skepticism and expectancy displayed by Polish workers have given way to active involvement and authentic unionism. I think that the most valuable thing to have happened for Polish workers is a striving to create a style of work in which workers are heeded and the problems that life brings are understood.

The course of the congress to date has shown--if I may express an opinion--that workers are neither indifferent nor mute. Their voice is important.

It is pleasing and a great source of optimism that in the situation with which Poland has been struggling for years, 7,000,000 people have been found and have expressed a desire to act and who, in the revived trade unions, talk openly and critically about all the difficulties, shortcomings, and negative phenomena that exist and who want to act. This union movement constitutes a real force and is surely a valuable partner for the authorities of a socialist state.

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## PZPR CC AGRICULTURAL BODY MEETS, APPOINTS BOARD

AU181739 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 86 p 1

[Ewa Fiala report: "In Order To Take, One Must Give"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Commission for Agriculture and the Food and Forest Economy met on 15 December for the first time since the 10th congress. It elected a nine-man presidium, chaired by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, and adopted work regulations. There was also a report on the processing of suggestions received by the commission prior to and during the congress.

The mainstream of the discussion was the current situation of the food complex and resultant conclusions and tasks for the commission.

Kazimierz Grzesiak, deputy minister for agriculture, forestry, and the food economy, addressed the situation in agriculture and the food economy and presented plans for next year.

We know what we have from periodic reports and market analyses. What can we expect in 1987? Modest quantitative and qualitative increases. Plant production will increase by 0.5 percent by means of intensive cultivation methods and a broader application of complex technology. Animal production will rise by 1 percent, supported by increased agricultural crops. All in all, supplies to the market will increase by 2 percent, which is more than this year's increase. This is not too optimistic a forecast, but there are various kinds of barriers, such as additional grain and animal feed imports which have been kept below the planned level for a long time, the unfulfilled fertilization increase program, and the shamefully low use of plant protection agents. The agricultural and food industry is experiencing troubles from top to bottom, from processing to packing. Products are being packed not only in glass and tin, but even in paper.

In order to take from the food complex, it is necessary to give to it. Not everyone is adequately aware of this. In a year which has seen a good rape crop, the talks mentioned the unfortunate situation with fats. There are enough fats, and yet seven new margarine production lines will not become operational until next year!

A method of fixing prices in agriculture, processing, and the market that is based on reality and not fiction is becoming increasingly urgent. Subsidizing everything produced by agriculture gives a false picture and turns the processing industries working for the needs of agriculture into financial Cinderellas [kopciuszki].

Concluding the meeting, Zbigniew Michalek said that the food economy is in great need of the second stage of the economic reform, which is understood to mean an introduction of flexible and harsh procedures. Agriculture has used its reserves. More can be achieved by means of fertilization, plant protection, land drainage, and supplies of equipment and parts--all at the right level, time, and quality.

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## PRON DEPUTY CHAIRMAN ON ACCORD PROGRESS

AU101137 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6-7 Dec 86 p 3

[Interview given by Professor Anna Przeclawska, deputy chairman of the PRON National Council, to Ryszarda Kazimierska: "The Art of Reaching Agreement"--- date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kazimierska] For many years now, there has been much debate in Poland about the form and nature of socialist democracy. The old structures proved to be inadequate. They did not satisfy the ambitions of citizens who want to be involved in making state policy, who want to have an influence on social and economic actions.

[Przeclawska] In recent years, in a very difficult economic and political situation, there have emerged institutions and social organizations that enable people to articulate their concern. This suits social needs. One can compare our 40-year history to a path full of zigzags. As I see it, overall we are moving forward, although at times we do take steps backwards. Various experiences are being summed up, experiences that we are trying to turn into better and more effective actions, that produce more results. The search is continuing for new solutions that could satisfy people's desire to exercise an influence on the form of our social life.

[Kazimierska] The past years have shown that the path that has been chosen is one of creating a diversity of forums in which various arguments, various concepts, and various positions can clash with each other. PRON has been established, a movement in which you yourself are involved. Enterprise workers' self-management councils have begun to operate. A socioeconomic council attached to the Sejm has been principled, as well as a team of advisors. There are consultative councils and ones that provide opinions attached to the government. The voice of the reborn trade union movement is heard with increasing frequency in discussion on various important issues. One can expect a social consultative committee attached to the State Council to be established soon and the creation of socioeconomic councils attached to voivodship people's councils. One sometimes hears it asked if we are not experiencing a form of institution and council inflation. Are these institutions and councils perhaps a facade, a sham?

[Przeclawsk] I do not believe that these new structures are a screen or some form of camouflage. The experiences of recent weeks shows that this is not

the case. They could convince us that public opinion can really shape reality. The more success there is in promoting a public voice, the greater the chance, in my opinion, of emerging from the crisis quickly. I think that we sometimes do not perceive the processes in which we ourselves participate. During the last six months the atmosphere has become more and more conducive to discussion, to discussion conducted in many circles, the atmosphere is becoming more and more conducive to finding new solutions.

I would like to return to what PRON has been doing, to the movement's activities, discussions, and documents. I think that the report on the state of accord submitted at the beginning of the year, the national council's position on the matter, statements made on the subject of the economic reform, and documents concerning the position of the Polish family in the eighties have all prepared the ground for further forms of expanding public discussion. I believe that the kind of public discussion that is taking place now could not have occurred without a properly prepared basis. I am convinced that this discussion will be encouraged by the debate that will precede the Second PRON Congress; this debate is starting up now. The opinions of other social forces--self-management councils and trade unions--are also very important. I attended the trade union congress and took part in the work of one of the teams discussing social policy issues. There was a clash of various arguments and opinions during the discussion. The fact that we argue gives grounds for optimism. It shows that we are concerned.

Speaking about an atmosphere that promotes accord, I would like to mention the position of the church. I think that words contained in the communique of the 217th Conference of the Polish Episcopate were very powerful and telling, words such as "we should all contribute to creating a climate of peace and fraternal trust," that "all disagreements that inflame emotions and cause tension ought to be cast aside" and that "Poles should show evidence of reconciliation and display a common effort in leading the country out of what continues to be a difficult situation." And many of Pope John Paul II's actions--a man for whom social peace and world peace are among the highest of values--serve precisely this aim.

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**PZPR PERIODICAL ON WORK OF STUDENTS UNION****AU091438 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 24, 19 Nov 86 p 11**

[Interview given by Antoni Dragan, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Union of Polish Students, to Magdalena Prochnicka: "How To Win Young People--To Eliminate Inactivity"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Prochnicka] Important political events are now behind us. For the first time ever the party has addressed its program to all the people. Young people not only must help to implement this program, but must also take over the initiative in many areas. The 10th congress resolution states that the party expects young people to show initiative and that it is in favor of expanding their responsibilities for the country's development. What is the largest student organization doing to assume at least some of these responsibilities?

[Dragan] The precongress discussions in our union were very lively and turned not only around the problems of the student community, but also and perhaps primarily around students' work for the country. However, it is common knowledge that you have to have the backing of the community if your activities are to be successful, but we are still unable to claim that we represent the entire student community, although over 50,000 students are members of our union. On the other hand, we are not interested in the situation in which all students join our union en masse. What interests us is to have a significant influence on the student community. This is the basic line of our activity. The second line represents the issues connected with the position of students in university-type schools. This involves academic instruction, the organization of student life, problems of training, the situation of the most talented students, and opportunities for career life. This line of our activity continues to quicken all the time. Naturally, we pursue the traditional activities of our union, which are rather well known, so I will not speak about them in detail.

To illustrate more closely the atmosphere of the student community, especially the political atmosphere, let me stress that the first-year students now are different from those who are finishing their studies. The students born in 1967 finished their primary schooling in 1981-82 and their secondary schooling in 1986. The first-year students have quite different experience and problems. If in the past few years the dominant topic of discussions in universities was students' attitude toward the 1980-81 events--this attitude

was often very emotional and individualized--the first-year students are far less articulate about those events. That is why we can say that the students who are politically most determined and often averse to action are finishing their courses and will soon leave their universities. Their places are being taken over by students who are more open and who we think will be easier to win over for any kind of positive activities.

[Prochnicka] What are your plans for the entire student community?

[Dragan] As I have mentioned, we must not regard our union as a body that makes the decisions for the student community, that shapes the attitudes of the majority of students, and that expects students to agree to all its plans. This is because most students are outside of our organization. That is why, in order to reach this majority, we try to go outside of our structures. It is out of the question that the union may do something secretly to benefit itself. What it does should interest every student. One such issue is academic instruction. Next February and March all universities and similar schools will hold "student forums" in order to discuss examination sessions. The forums will be meetings with university authorities on how to organize instruction and studies because these problems look different in different schools.

We also want to search for what unites students and to discuss what divides them. We want to try to revive the unity of the student community. We want these discussions to produce lessons not only for our union, but for all students as well. We know that our efforts will not produce rapid results, but we also know that if our efforts are consistent they will necessarily produce positive results in due time.

We also want to stimulate the militancy of students, but on a slightly different plane. I have in mind the Seventh Festival of Culture of PPR Students, which will continue for a year in various phases. We want to show the people a portrait of the student community different from the one that has emerged in the past few years.

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## GLOWCZYK DEFENDS PROPAGANDA WORK

AU011836 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 86 p 3

[Reply by Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Politburo member and central Committee secretary, to TRYBUNA LUDU reader Wojciech Kasztelan, who complained that the Polish mass media did not publish the text of President R. Reagan's speech on Reykjavik results and that these media reports on international events are inadequate]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade, I read your letter carefully and I share your concern for the credibility of our propaganda. I agree with you that adequate information about events that are important for our community helps strengthen its trust in the mass media and propaganda.

However, I cannot accept your charge that our information on the Reykjavik meeting and on other important international events is, as you write, not adequate for people to form their own views on such events.

We gave extensive press, radio, and television coverage to the Reykjavik meeting and we used not only press agency reports, but also dispatches of the six special correspondents we have sent to Reykjavik.

We provided the television and press coverage of Comrade M. Gorbachev's post-Reykjavik press conference, but we did not provide such coverage for President Reagan's press conference because he did not hold such a conference. During the Geneva summit meeting and in Reykjavik, R. Reagan avoided direct contacts with journalists.

On his return home R. Reagan made a speech to the American people and not to the world public. As far as I know, no other television media, except the American television, transmitted that speech. If we had transmitted it, as you suggest, we would have been the only outsiders to do so.

It is, of course, possible that our press could have published the text of R. Reagan's speech on the Reykjavik summit, but in such a case we would have been--to put it mildly--odd men out, since no bourgeois printed media carried M. Gorbachev's television speech to the Soviet people or the transcript of his press conference, which was attended by many bourgeois journalists. What is more, the NOVOSTI English texts of the two events were stopped by the U.S. customs officers, although the number of these texts was small and although they were destined for specialists only.

An acute political struggle, in which the mass media play an important role, continues to be waged worldwide, and we must not behave as if we knew nothing about it. We must not make propaganda presents to our adversaries, since we know that they will not reciprocate.

However, this attitude does not affect the openness of our propaganda. We do not withhold any facts from our people, including the facts about East-West relations.

We transmitted the Gorbachev-Mitterand press conference in Paris, reported on the press statements made by M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Geneva, and present G. Shultz's observations on the Geneva summit. We also presented the U.S. side's position in Reykjavik.

However, our information and propaganda media have the right to evaluate such positions in the same way as the worldwide press has.

The way we present the U.S. policy on disarmament is consistent with the views of almost the entire world public, and we have said this before. However, we make no secret of the fact that large numbers of Americans, who are subjected to enormous propaganda pressure and who know nothing about Soviet proposals, continue to support the president on, say, "Star Wars." Karol Szndzielorz commented on this in ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 27 October.

As for the way our press presented the propaganda trappings used by R. Reagan when telling his fellow countrymen about the Reykjavik fiasco, for which he is to blame, I hold views that are different from yours. What Radio Free Europe says about President Reagan's views on this matter leaves me cold.

If we gave way to your exaggerated arguments in this regard, then we would have to reprint in our press the articles published in underground leaflets and papers, on the grounds that any one can get to know about them from Radio Free Europe. This is absurd. In such a way we would divest ourselves of the right to conduct our own propaganda policy. But the thing is that no policy is possible without propaganda policy. This would amount to not so much open propaganda as to no propaganda line at all.

This does not mean that those who are especially interested in studying views on international affairs that are different from our views are deprived of the possibility of doing such studies. Our Clubs of International Press and Books have displays of the foreign press, including the bourgeois. FORUM carries reprints of major articles that appear in the most serious newspapers and periodicals of the world. Our newspapers also carry reviews of the world press, especially insofar as especially important events are concerned. He who for scientific and journalistic reasons wants to consult interesting materials can always do so. However, in their daily activities our press, radio, and television always observe the principle that they should select the information that is most vital from the viewpoint of the Polish readers, listeners, and viewers. We try to observe a certain order of information and to avoid what is termed information chaos or noise.

This does not mean that we do not make mistakes in this policy, and that is why we approach with attention views on propaganda, including critical views. Your views compel reflection, regardless of the position I have taken. It is probably that it is only too rarely that we discuss our propaganda in a really candid manner and that we address the activity of our mass media and of those in the countries with different sociopolitical systems. Perhaps it is necessary to open the door to the "information kitchen" to find out about, say, the cost of television transmissions. Comrade, I am very grateful for your views on our propaganda. I will discuss them with my aides and with the comrades who are in direct charge of editorial staffs.

With party greetings,  
Jan Glowczyk.

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## RAKOWSKI ON CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT

AU011220 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Nov 86 p 4

[Interview given by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Sejm vice marshal and chairman of the Socioeconomic Council, to PAP journalist Jerzy Korejwo: "Social Energy Is Fact"--date and place not given; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Excerpts] The Socioeconomic Council is already into its second term of office as a Sejm advisory body. PAP journalist Jerzy Korejwo conducted an interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the Council's chairman and vice marshal of the Sejm.

[Korejwo] Several days ago, the Socioeconomic Council of which you are chairman adopted a stance vis-a-vis a bill submitted to the Sejm by the government concerning amendments to 12 laws governing the functioning of the economy. Public opinion has criticized some of the remarks contained in the council's stance. Could you comment on the reasons behind this criticism?

[Rakowski] In fact, the reasons have been given in press reports on the council session. Generally, however, one can say that the council has realized that the proposed changes are contrary to the principles of the economic reform. The council said that it is essential to improve economic instruments, but added that the bill that was submitted fails to meet these expectations.

[Korejwo] As we know, the bill has been criticized by the Sixth Convention of Workers' Self-Management Bodies, the PRON Economic Commission, Sejm committees, the Sejm Advisory Team, the Economic Reform Commission, and, of course, your council. Not at all a small number of people. One must say that this possesses political significance. One hears the view that the government has lost.

[Rakowski] I do not think that the conflict that has emerged between the authors of the bill and the above-mentioned bodies has to be viewed in terms of one side's victory and the other side's defeat. This would be a great distortion of the matter, and this has to be avoided. I know from my own experience of government work that in a difficult economic situation like the one we are in, it is quite impossible to find a way out and suggest proposals that will please everybody. Premier Messner's government does not have any easy situation. Please note that public opinion shoulders the government with

the main responsibility for politics and the economic situation. For example, when something in the economy does not "work out," no one asks what the Socioeconomic Council or workers' self-management bodies have to say for themselves, but directs his thoughts to the government. We also know that those who ask questions like this seldom consider the existing objective difficulties, such as the debts, Western restrictions, economic effects of the population increase, and the presence of completely new problems brought on by the process of altering the economic planning and management system, not to mention subjective ones in the form of a neglect of work commitments by many state employees, which quite often means that the law is broken. The government is also blamed for this. Am I not right?

I believe that a clash of various opinions such as the one accompanying the bill is exceedingly important from the angle of a further creative development of socialist democracy. This is a great success for those forces that have come out in favor of socialist renewal. I imagine there will be more clashes like this in the future and that they will become routine, whereby they will lose their sensational flavor.

[Korejwo] Now you have emerged as a defender of the government, and yet the council's stance is very critical of the bill that was submitted to the Sejm. Is this not contradictory?

[Rakowski] I do not think it is. What I have just said is not a government defense nor a repudiation of the council's stance. It is merely an attempt to draw attention to the need for everyone--the government, all representative bodies, and all social structures that express the views of broad public opinion--to take into account all the circumstances surrounding our activity. Let me add that I am less fascinated by the subject of the dispute than by the circumstances surrounding it.

[Korejwo] How is one to understand this?

[Rakowski] I will try to explain. For several years, in an extraordinarily difficult economic and very complicated political situation, the PZPR and its allies have been initiating the emergence of social institutions and organizations meant to be permanent platforms of conflicting interests, concepts, and views concerning economic and political leadership. The point, therefore, is real dialogue, not pretended or invented dialogue. The practical result of this is PRON. Before this came the law which created the workers' self-management bodies and the creation of the Sejm Socioeconomic Council, Sejm Advisory Team, and other advisory and opinion-making bodies. The appearance of all these bodies was accompanied by various comments, ranging from accusations that they were merely a facade, right up to questions whether there were not too many councils and commissions of various sorts in existence. In fact, all these comments possessed a common background--the question whether the selection of this or that particular way of increasing society's role was the right choice to make. I believe that the energy displayed during discussions on the bill in question by all the social structures that we have introduced into our political lives over the past five years clearly confirm the correctness of the chosen path. I believe that

those who initiated these bodies have cause for satisfaction, personal satisfaction as well.

On the basis of the experience gathered in recent years, but especially this year, I believe that regardless of various views and independently of the will of the country's "historic leaders," social energy within the framework of the structures we are talking about will continue to rise. The country is not standing still. New people are appearing and the ranks of energetic citizens are being replenished. Our task, however--and I have in mind the PZPR and its allies--is to consolidate these structures.

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**PUBLIC ORDER COMMITTEE VIEWS SOCIAL PROBLEMS**

AU020534 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 86 p 7

[Excerpts] PAP--On 27 November the Presidium of the Council of Minister's Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline appraised the implementation of the tasks posed by the program for preventing and combating social ills and crimes in 1986-90. The session was chaired by General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszcak, PZPR Politburo member.

Although various measures have helped to improve public order and to partially reduce the incidence of crime in Poland, the session noted that some plant founding bodies and managements continue to show too little interest in the need to treat the production tasks and training processes of workers, especially young workers, on an equal footing.

The appropriate bodies fail to take the necessary interest in the situation of workers hostels, in which serious shortcomings in upbringing and in hygienic conditions often occur.

Both plant managements and work forces continue to display far-reaching tolerance toward the persons who abuse alcohol. The community also fails to react properly to the conduct of drunks in public places.

It is still difficult to promote social activities, such as protecting parking lots, apartments, and social facilities against thefts, assisting the order-keeping forces, developing the influence of social courts, and so on.

The session decided that necessary measures will be taken to ensure that government decisions on public order are realized without obstructions or hindrances.

The session stressed that the efficient implementation of the party-government "Program for Preventing and Combating Social Ills and Crime in 1986-90" constitutes a crucial contribution to the realization of the 10th congress resolutions and is of essential importance for strengthening the people's moral values.

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CSO: 2600/234

**PARTY DAILY DISMISSES SOLIDARITY KULTURA INTERVIEW**

AU111625 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Dec 86 p 7

[Commentary signed '(WIS)': "To Back or Not To Back"]

[Text] The latest issue of the Paris KULTURA contains an interview given by Wladyslaw Bienkowski to Maria de Hernandez-Paluch entitled "It Is Still Living In A Dream."

It is worth reminding our younger readers in particular that Wladyslaw Bienkowski was an important party and state activist for a long time, after which he declared his opposition to the party and left it. He affirmed his departure from it in more than one Western publication, including the Paris KULTURA.

Without going into the real reasons behind such a radical change in Wladyslaw Bienkowski's ideological views, it is at least worth recalling that the phenomenon of leaving a political movement on the party of someone who has flourished in it and even helped create it to some extent is as old as the existence of the movements themselves. The case of Wladyslaw Bienkowski is nothing extraordinary.

But this is beside the point. What we are interested in is Wladyslaw Bienkowski's views on who "Solidarity's" fate was the way it was. It will be all the more interesting because he has declared his sympathy for this movement on several occasions, and was a guest of the "Solidarity" congress in the Olympia Hall in Gdansk, which he mentions in his interview. He saw what was going on inside "Solidarity" from very close up.

One of the theses held in the West to this very day is that Reagan's sanctions against Poland were caused by the introduction of martial law in Poland. Mrs de Hernandez-Paluch says so in the interview. The reply she receives is, and I quote: "I will be brutal. Stop talking a bunch of nonsense. You remember what it was like before 13 December, 1981, don't you?"

But Bienkowski sees the real reasons behind the sanctions somewhere else. He says: "The sanctions were dictated purely by the intention of creating in Poland a troublesome situation for the Soviets. They involved letting down an iron curtain from the West..."

Further on, Bienkowski says: "And now please consider what would have happened if Solidarity had won. It would have assumed power in this country. The only way it could have made this anarchic society follow any kind of path was by means of a dictatorship. After all, Solidarity's sympathizers and friends were completely blind. They did not know what was going on in Poland at all. Chaos and anarchy reached a peak. Let me give you an example. I perform the role of supplier to my family of two. My duty is to bring milk, bread, and the paper. Toward the end of "solidarity," this took me half a day. There either was milk or there wasn't, with bread it was the same, with the paper it was--even worse."

"And did things improve for you during martial law?"

"Yes. Did you not feel so?"

"No, because I don't buy any paper."

To this dialogue one can add the following observation. The chain of events revealed that by no means every "Solidarity" sympathizer and friend was too blind to see that "chaos and anarchy had reached a peak." They assumed, and said so openly at home and abroad, that these phenomena not only should not be opposed, but should be aggravated, which by the way they did any way they could.

Further on in the interview, Wladyslaw Bienkowski states his view on why "Solidarity" became a destructive force. He says: "The strike has always been a basic weapon of the workers' class. This weapon was discredited the moment anyone began to strike for any reason whatsoever. It is not martial law that dealt a blow to "Solidarity." "Solidarity" suffered this blow several months earlier. Many people thought that this independence and this movement in the field meant an animation of the masses. That was an illusion, in fact it was a paralysis of the masses..."

The interview we are quoting is exhaustive, exhaustive enough to contain various cutting remarks against the authorities, as well as negative assessments of some of the phenomena in Poland. We consider the cutting remarks narrow-minded, but most of the assessments provide food for discussion. There are many of them in the interview, enough to make one realize that it is not a sudden love for the authorities in charge of today's Poland that made the interviewee give a harsh assessment of the former "Solidarity's" activity.

What was it then? Perhaps his powers of observation overcame his current political sympathies and animosities.

The question remains why the Paris KULTURA, so distinguished for its destructive activity against the Polish state, decided to publish this interview, and at a time when Western centers of propaganda subversion are opposing a reheating of the formerly strong Solidarity myth.

If one considers that those Solidarity" extremists who quite simply do not want to give up their West European luxuries are directly involved in this opposition, then the answer seems relatively simple. Those in charge of the funds to pay for propaganda aggression not only spend money, but count it as well. And from time to time they ask themselves whether or not they should continue backing a losing horse.

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## SHALAYEV STATEMENT ON OPZZ CONGRESS

AU051329 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Dec 86 p 2

[Statement made to ZYCIE WARSZAWY by Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; date and place not given]

[Text] I believe that the congress of the Reborn Polish Trade Unions is of great importance for two reasons. First, it is important because it serves as a summing up of the work on the rebirth of unions that was conducted over the last years: This work was difficult, but thanks to it the unions have acquired authority. Bearing in mind that the unions managed to bring together about 7,000,000 members in a relatively short space of time, one can say that the unions have this initial, successful phase behind them. The All-Polish Trade Union Accord is a fact now, and the time has come for the long-term intentions that were set out from the tribune of the congress to be realized.

And this is the second reason why the congress is so important. For what are being described are plans for the future--which take account of the basic interests of working people and their most important needs--and tasks connected with the further expansion and strengthening of the role of trade unions in Poland's sociopolitical system and the unions' place in the international arena.

The fine way in which the trade unions prepared for their congress has impressed us. The report delivered by Alfred Miodowicz and the speeches made by delegates bears witness to this. The openness, commitment, and businesslike approach displayed by speakers is particularly noteworthy. In addition to speaking about problems and shortcomings, they also propose ways in which the situation can be improved; ways that lead to effective solutions.

It is clear that delegates understand that a solution to many current problems connected with wages and social conditions is only possible if there is an improvement in the efficient functioning of individual enterprises and of the economy as a whole and an acceleration of economic development. That is why so much is being said in delegates speeches about the need to eliminate deficiencies and to combat wastefulness and bureaucratism.

We were deeply impressed by Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech and the expressions of support for the reborn trade unions that it contained. This is because

**party support for union activity that is focussed on the performance of socioeconomic tasks is of enormous importance.**

**During recent years Soviet Unions have developed extensive ties with the All-Polish Trade Union Accord and with union federations. We talk about our problems and about solutions that have been employed, which are matters of interest to both sides. I believe that important reserves still exist in this area and that there are many unexploited possibilities for further development. We are ready to share our experience in a fraternal manner and to benefit from Polish experience.**

**The Polish working people can also count on our support in the international arena. We resolutely condemn attempts by some Western union organizations to interfere in Poland's domestic affairs.**

**The Polish workers' class has made its choice--it has created class-based, independent, and self-governing trade unions. The Warsaw congress is a full affirmation of this choice. We wish the Polish trade unions success in implementing the resolutions adopted at the congress, resolutions that are essential for further development.**

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## MURANSKI INTERVIEWED ON PARTY TASKS

AU142128 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 25, 3 Dec 86 pp 3, 4

[Interview given by Zygmunt Muranski, PZPR Politburo member and foreman in the Rydułtowy colliery in Wodzisław Śląski, to Andrzej Wiśniewski: "To Contribute and To Learn Something"--date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [[Wiśniewski] The present party accountability and election campaign continues to formulate in detail postcongress tasks. How do you evaluate this formulation, especially in primary and shop party organizations?

[Muranski] It is too early to make any evaluations because the campaign is continuing. Besides, I can speak only of the party meetings in Katowice Voivodship. As a rule, these meetings are self-critical, and people are aware both of existing problems and of the great deal that can still be done for effective economic management, work organization, and so on. The kowtowing that was frequently the case in the past seems to be absent from the present meetings. Discussions are held during and not after meetings, but, of course, this is not so everywhere because the primary party organizations are not all of the same standards.

In the seventies it was the party secretary who kept on talking, while the meeting kept mum. At the beginning of the eighties the participants in meetings made passionate speeches, while the meeting presidiums kept mum. Now the situation is more balanced, and everyone has his say. We must maintain this situation and we will be able to do so if we treat each other seriously and if our discussions result in productive action. It is a good thing that party meetings continue to formulate detailed tasks, but each one of us must realize that what counts is results and nothing else. Non party people judge us only by our results. They continue to watch the party and its internal life very closely. Without results, primary party organizations count for nothing, are unable to develop, and have no authority and no influence.

[Wiśniewski] How do workers view the 10th congress resolutions at this point in time? These resolutions pose many difficult problems for the work forces, including the verification of jobs and organizational structures, the principle that only work actually done should be paid for, the abolition of the principle that everyone should be paid the same wages, and the elimination of subsidies for poorly performing plants and branches of industry. All this will affect the life of workers. How far do they support these changes?

[Muranski] It will not be easy to implement the 10th congress resolutions and decisions. It goes without saying that everyone wants the acceleration of our development, but no one wants to pay for it. This is natural. It is also natural that all price hikes will be unpopular because one has to pay for them. We can make many economically justified decisions, but will they always be socially justified? We must be aware of this and carefully consider our decisions, bearing in mind that we must not worsen the situation of the people, especially of the poor people. Economics is economics, and it is no use discussing its laws. But what we should discuss is how to protect the poorest people and how to implement our decisions at the lowest cost to society.

It is very important to effectively analyze reality without any red tape formalities. There are still those who think that he who needs help should apply for it, but the thing is that some people do not know where to apply and some people will never ask for help no matter how badly they need it because they are too proud. On the other hand, we have crafty dodgers among us who know how to trap every benefit. That is why contacts with people on the job and at home are so very important. It pays to visit people's homes and ask them if they need anything. This is a great social task for trade unions, primary party organizations, and youth organizations. Young people also discuss pensions and annuities and the situation of old people. No doubt many of the young people's relatives are pensioners and that is why then are so keenly aware of this social problem and are so sensitive to it.

The implementation of our economic plans is a tough proposition. Wages continue to go up, but production and productivity show no sign of increasing. Many plant managers want to be popular with the work forces who, ignorant of the rules of economics, think that their managers are the best possible. Work forces know little about economics, and standards of economic training are very poor. Economic awareness lags behind the economic reform. It will be very difficult to do away with equal wages, for example, but they must be done away with or we will not be able to move ahead.

We must also change the method of rating one's performance. This rating is a matter of direct supervision. No "connections" should be allowed in this regard, and economics should be the only criterion. Our mentality is sensitive to wrongs, which is a valuable quality, but we should at times wonder whether each one of those who claims to have been wronged has really been wronged. We must put this bluntly to the people, openly evaluate their performance, and tell them in the presence of others why their bonuses are reduced or increased. This is a great issue of the honesty of foremen and supervisors. It should be important for the foreman to earn more if his brigade earns more. Foremen should be motivated in line with the prevailing working conditions. The party and all its echelons also have a great role to play since they must be mainsprings of activity. The necessary condition for their success is their daily presence among workers. I mean real presence and ties with the people at all levels and not contacts from behind the desk. The system of contacts between the party and the people are developed since the 10th party congress has done much in this regard. These contacts continue to be cultivated by members of the party leadership down through to group leaders.

[Wisniewski] You mentioned young people's sensitivity. The 10th congress' programmatic ideas apply especially to young people. How far have they, especially young workers, been affected by these ideas?

[Muranski] Speaking of young people's identification with the party program, I must primarily stress that young people must realize that if they now fail to implement the program for the country's development, they will lose their influence over that for which they will one day assume responsibility. They will also lose opportunities to acquire valuable practical experience. Young people are part and parcel of society and cannot be isolated from it. After all, most of our young people--young workers, engineers, and teachers--work together with all our people and contribute great values to our life.

It is natural that young people have great ambitions and demands, which means that our society continues to develop itself and to acquire greater aspirations. Young people are critical of many things, but their criticism can be very valuable in improving the performance of plants, in raising the quality of life, and in stimulating the militancy of party organizations, which have a great role to play in this regard. I know from experience how difficult it is at times for young people to get through with their important problems. Party organizations should help young people in this regard and often act jointly with them. We are undivided as a community, and if some of us are party members, youth activists, or trade unionists, the only feature that can distinguish us from the other members of our community is our exceptional performance in work and in social militancy.

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**WARSAW DAILY DESCRIBES SATELLITE GROUND STATION**

AU021212 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Nov 86 p 4

[Aleksander Checko article: "Orbit Above the Bare Mountains"]

[Excerpts] They forgot to warn the birds, so the birds continue to fly their usual course. Heedless of the danger, the birds used to crash into the windows of the odd round building that has arisen in the middle of the field.

The road leading to this building is made of concrete slabs. Years ago, not even a tractor would have driven along it. The building lies hidden in the forest, and yet when one asks how to get there, all the local children reply with one voice. "The satellite? Straight on, it is just beyond the village."

Such a landscape is to be seen only here. Among the knolls of the Bare Mountains, one-half hour's drive from Kielce, and surrounded by forest, is a scene that is not of this world. A round, glass building, looking like a flying saucer. By its side, an antenna with a diameter of 30 meters, aimed at the sky. Further on are three similar but smaller antennas. The whole complex is surrounded by a metal fence. On the gate is a symbol saying that photography is forbidden, together with the inscription: Psary Satellite Ground Communications Center.

Wieslaw Dzierzak, who works here, wrote a dissertation on "satellite television antennas" at Wroclaw Polytechnic 10 years ago, but he had heard of sputniks much earlier, being a radio technology fan. Tadeusz Bogucki was already working here at that time. He was one of those who were meant to occupy themselves with the new communications medium in Poland after completing their training in a center in Novosibirsk.

The Russians were already far advanced with their "Orbit" system, which beams television pictures to the furthest republics. However, in April 1973, work started on this Polish satellite communications station near Kielce, designed to receive and relay television programs and telephone conversations in the "Intersputnik" system.

"Intersputnik," Mr Bogucki explains, is not the only system in which the Psary station is operating. Four years ago, American specialists installed

"Intelsat" equipment. It is this 30-meter antenna that receives and relays television and telephone signals in this system. The two systems cover practically the whole world, except for small areas in the southern hemisphere. Already next year, Poland will begin to take advantage of the "Inmarsat" system, permitting communications with the merchant and fishing fleet via satellite.

Apart from Wieslaw Treliński, Warsaw representative of the Japanese concern NEC, with which Poland has been cooperating for years, engineers from Japan are taking part in the installation of "Inmarsat." Since the commencement of installation work on 13 July, 117 cases containing the most modern equipment have been delivered to Psary, to say nothing of two antennas which were delivered separately and have been installed by our own technicians and engineers. The speed with which they did this impressed even the specialists from NEC. Although at first they did not know what "factory economic team" means and wondered whether a 12-hour working day is normal in Poland, on Saturdays too, they clearly calmed down when they learned that employees working with this system have had their wages quadrupled and their working hours halved.

Guides explain that when everything is ready, it will not even be necessary to take a look into the computer room. "Inmarsat" ground stations have remote-controlled management and steering systems. It is estimated that this equipment will operate trouble-free for 42 years.

"Inmarsat," Wieslaw Treliński explains, is available to vessels equipped with satellite reception terminals (and part of the Polish fleet is already so equipped). It guarantees safety, and means constant contact with dry land, the contractor, or other vessels regardless of time and weather. For people working all alone on the sea, it is something more. They can pick up their receivers and telephone any time, although the situation with telephoning is variable.

On a television monitor one can see parts of a Western television channel. The station's employees are the first, and sometimes the only, recipients of world news in Poland. They watched the Challenger disaster, transmitted live to many countries.

When one watches a late-night movie transmitted in the other hemisphere, it is easier to understand that the world is becoming smaller and that distance is ceasing to be significant. Looking at the silver antenna aimed at the sky, the employees even say that the world is within reach.

Mr Bogucki is writing a shift report. It was normal, without any breakdowns, although something has to happen once in a while with all this complicated equipment. Today, for example, the telephone connection with Kielce failed. They will not be able to repair it before noon because the trouble is "somewhere along the line." They are bound to send someone over tomorrow...

From space we return to earth. A new shift has begun. It begins with a routine check on whether there is electricity and water for cooling. In the morning, the curtains will be drawn in order not to lure any birds. No bird has crashed into a window pane for a long time. A glass saucer could lose its attraction for them.

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## STATISTICAL OFFICE HEAD ON INACCURATE DATA

AU142153 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 Dec 86 p 5

[Interview with Professor Wieslaw Sadowski, president of the Main Statistical Office, conducted by Jacek Mojkowski: "It Is Not Possible To Deceive Everyone"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Mojkowski] Why do statistical reports contain inaccurate information?

[Sadowski] This happens because of insufficient familiarity with instructions concerning statistical forms and the way in which they ought to be filled out. Often, perhaps too often, it is due to enterprise records being disorderly or to plain carelessness. In addition, there are also cases of deliberate falsification and distortion. However, the latter are not the main causes of the inaccuracy that we come across.

[Mojkowski] The Supreme Chamber of Control believes that one quarter of all falsifications are deliberate and intentional acts on the part of accountants, directors, and so on. How does the Main Statistical Office see this issue?

[Sadowski] Following a control that involved 85 units that provide reports, the Supreme Chamber of Control did indeed establish that one quarter of falsifications are deliberate. However, on the basis of this information it is difficult to say that this is the case everywhere. During the course of our routine inspections we do, as a rule, find a very high percentage of inaccuracies of various kinds but the number of cases that can be submitted for examination by misdemeanor courts is significantly lower. Moreover, we not only direct those who falsify information to misdemeanor courts but also those who persist in failing to observe deadlines and those who do not draw the appropriate conclusions from previous inspections.

[Mojkowski] Are the number of instances of dishonesty growing or declining?

[Sadowski] The number of cases directed to misdemeanor courts has risen over the last three years. For example, there were 447 applications last year and 291 during the first half of this year. To a large degree, we attribute this to the stepping up of control activities on the part of state statistical organs.

**[Mojkowski] Why do people lie about statistics?**

**[Sadowski]** The direct cause of lying in the preparation of statistical reports is the desire for material benefits or greater prestige. The first is connected with bonuses, lower taxes, and the avoidance of penalties. As for prestige, there are many enterprises that wish to present themselves in the best possible light to those outside by "correcting" indexes. It is easier to get by with good results. Another cause of inaccuracy is the monopolistic position that a firm may enjoy. For example, there are cases of housing cooperatives stating that housing units provided by a construction enterprise have been completed, although this is untrue, for fear of losing a contractor.

In general, it can be said that statistical fraud is connected with the state of the economy and is not just the product of people's inclinations to manipulate things. The greater order there is, the more settled the regulations and the economic game are, the fewer the opportunities for chicanery.

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CSO: 2600/234

## PUBLIC SURVEY ON POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS CORRELATIONS

AU142146 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 49, 3 Dec 86 p 5

[Interview given by Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, manager of the Public Opinion Research Main Center, to Alicja Kos: "Social Opinion or Public Opinion?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kos] You say that we should not pronounce on the political orientation of Poles on the strength of their religious or party convictions. It is a fact that this simplified definition of one's political orientation is used less and less by the two sides. What are the most recent findings on this subject? Does the division of society on account of religious convictions correspond with any political division?

[Kwiatkowski] If a division like this did exist, then we could assume that every believer is a political militant. Because we know that people are reluctant to declare themselves politically, in our polls we ask them indirect questions about politics. The results of such polls show that the Polish community's interest in politics—in whatever relates to government and the way it is conducted—is rather superficial. Our people like to observe politics without really committing themselves to it. Merely 15.5 percent of our adults keenly watch political events, 42.5 percent are interested only in major political events, and 41.4 percent are interested in politics "feebley" or "not at all."

Most of those who are officially active in politics and who are members of political parties and sociopolitical organizations are believers. The times when this was a matter of wonderment and shame are gone.

We must not use religious militancy as a yardstick of one's political commitment and has an indicator of one's political attitudes. From this point of view we have analyzed the results of five national opinion polls—two from 1984 and three from 1985—relating to the country's actual sociopolitical situation. The sample of adults was divided into five groups in line with their declared organizational affiliations and religious confessions. The first group included PZPR members, the second the people politically active in other sociopolitical organizations we call "allies," the third the people who were Solidarnosc members before martial law and who are now outside of any organization, the fourth the people who regard themselves as practicing believers outside of any organization, and the fifth the people who could not

be placed in any of the other groups and who are conventionally called "indifferent."

We have analyzed their answers to questions important for the country and we have sought for differences between those who declared their political sympathies and those who regarded themselves as merely believers and religious militants. We have also asked ourselves to which group they were closer if we treated the political sympathies of the party people and their allies as contrary to the sympathies of the former Solidarnosc members.

Believers and religious militants proved to be closer to the party people, especially with regard to forecasts on and evaluations of the country's economic situation, opportunities to overcome the economic crisis, views about the authorities' restrictions of civil freedoms for the good of the country and democracy in Poland, participation in elections, support for the authorities' domestic policy, and opinions about economic policy.

They were closer to former Solidarnosc members with regard to only a few issues such as the evaluations of personal material situations, forecasts about these situations, and the church and its right to make political statements and to influence the people. They were still closer to Solidarnosc members in evaluating the country's political situation and its development within 2-3 years.

Summing up, it is true that Poles, especially those of pre- or post-production age, are mostly believers, although not necessarily practicing believers. Their religious convictions are important, but so are other criteria of social differences and divisions. We must not impart any political meaning to divisions based on religious convictions. We must not pit believers against the prevailing system of Poland. We must not pit socialism against believers.

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CSO: 2600/234

## CHIEF SCOUT ON SCOUTING TASKS, PARTY

AU142201 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 25, 3 Dec 86 p 11

[Interview given by Ryszard Wosinski, PZPR Central Committee member and chief of the Polish Scout Union, to Wanda Erbetowska: "We Need Dynamic, Inquisitive, and Rebellious Youngsters...."--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Erbetowska] The part program applies to all our people, but young people should be especially active implementors of this program because of its long-term character. What is the Polish Scout Union doing to train young people for this difficult and responsible task?

[Wosinski] We do our work with the help of the PZPR's ideological inspiration, which is one of the basic norms of our state. We are obliged to implement the 10th congress resolution on educating and training young people. We are obliged to do this not only as instructors who are party members, but also as members of our union, which is an organization concerned with upbringing. It is not without reason that we speak of the social service of scouts, because it is we who train our charges for this service. The scout movement has the potential for fostering young people's ideological, committed, and responsible attitudes. We teach them how to work in teams, how to organize such work, and how to respect public property.

[Erbetowska] Even teachers in various schools concede that young people's attitudes are far from what they are expected to be. How far can your union change this?

[Wosinski] We should not put an equation sign between the scout movement and the attitudes of all young people. Even if it were possible for our movement to embrace all of them, we still would have to face various difficulties. Let us not forget that young people are often subjected to mutually contradictory influences from parents, schools, and motley groups of colleagues, youth organizations, and the church....

Young people experience periods of various influences and often assume wavering, undecided, and even undesirable attitudes. We must not let ourselves be deceived by general statements that our young people are either magnificent or bad. Young people are all things possible, and either we know how to cooperate with them (in which case we call them good) or we do not (and in this case we call them bad and spoiled). In their nature young people are

dynamic, nonconformist, and radical. These qualities are most desirable if we are able to channel them and make them useful for the activities of our union. The scouting movement needs primarily dynamic, inquisitive, and rebellious youngsters and not the modest ones.

[Erbetowska] The 10th congress elected you to the PZPR Central Committee, which is proof of the importance the party attaches to upbringing in youth organizations. How far does daily practice confirm in your view?

[Wosinski] There is no reason why we should criticize the party cells' assistance for the scout movement and their interest in it. Nevertheless, basic party cells should regard our union's cadres as a group of social activists whose ideological commitment is unequivocal, although not all of them are party members. I think we need closer contacts between party cells and these activists. We also need more meetings and talks about the problems of townships and [word indistinct]. Our union's instructors are sufficiently motivated for the work they do, but the knowledge they need for the work they do in given communities is not always adequate.

Cooperation at the basic level, that is, in the school, is not what it should be. It is not that the school primary party organizations and their members should act as substitutes for scout instructors, but what they should do is to advise and assist our instructors. Assistance for young group leaders and instructors in solving difficult problems of upbringing and in creating conditions for increased social militancy is a must. Primary party organizations should evaluate the scouting movement once a year, but scouting instructors should always be aware that these organizations are bodies they can consult on difficult problems. I think that the party's patronage over the scouting movement should be fulfilled in this natural manner, which is effective without having to be enforced.

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## BRIEFS

MESSNER AT MEETING--PAP--There was a meeting of the Polish foreign service in Warsaw on 13-14 December. Against the background of Poland's domestic and international situation, the meeting discussed the tasks stemming from the 10th PZPR Congress resolution and aimed at accelerating Poland's socioeconomic development and consolidating its international position. The functioning of the foreign service and ways of increasing its efficiency and coordinating its activity better were also discussed. The meeting was attended by members of the Government Presidium with Zbigniew Messner, PPR Council of Ministers chairman; ministers; heads of central offices; and directors of PZPR Central Committee, ZSL National Committee, and SD Central Committee departments. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /12913

HUNGARIAN MEDIA OPERATIONS VIEWED--Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee, has ended his working visit to Hungary. The Polish guest was received today by Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP. The visit, which was to be to exchange experiences primarily in the functioning of the mass media, proved to be very fruitful. Jan Glowczyk had the opportunity to acquaint himself with the work of editorial and television teams, including that of television news. He saw new broadcasting methods such as cable television, still unknown in Poland but widely used in Hungary. For this reason he visited one of the county centers in Szekesfehervar. [No video available] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Dec 86 LD] /12913

COMMENT ON 1970 TREATY--The treaty on principles for normalization of mutual relations between Poland and the FRG was signed in Warsaw exactly 16 years ago, on 7 December 1970. This treaty finally ended the Odra-Nysa border issue in international law. It confirmed its irreversible and unalterable character. With this treaty the FRG relinquished any territorial claims toward Poland both for the present and for the future. Unfortunately, the FRG, particularly recently, has intensified its efforts to turn the issue of the so-called unification of Germany into one of the main problems in Europe. Some West German politicians are literally questioning the decisions of the 1970 treaty. However, there are political forces in that state which represent the position of realism. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Dec 86 LD] /12913

**SIWICKI RECEIVES SOVIET ADMIRAL**--Army General Florian Siwicki received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy of the Soviet Union, headed by Admiral of the Fleet Georgiy Yegorov, its chairman. [no video available] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Nov 86 LD] /12913

**POPPY, HEMP GROWTH DECLINING**--The area of cultivation of poppy and hemp--the plants used to make drugs--has decreased. This information was released at a news conference held at the General Prosecutor's Office. The prosecutors' offices have carried out a check in 16 voivodship on how the law on the prevention of drug addiction is observed. It was stated that 884 persons cultivated poppies illegally. Six of these were sentenced to imprisonment. No less than 17,000 drug addicts committed crimes last year. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Dec 86 LD] /12913

**GLOWCZYK ON CHURCH 'AMORALITY'**--Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA has published [date not given] a statement made by Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in the Kuznica Club. Here is an excerpt from it: "If, say, during a party meeting charges had been made against believers in the same way as they are made from the pulpits against nonbelievers, party members would dub such charges as shame. All public opinion polls continue to confirm that most people are against such amoral practices, which cause concern and embarrassment among our people, who, after all, are believers for the most part...." [From the "press review"] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No. 47, 23 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /12913

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